The Dissertation Committee for Ji-Hyun Ahn Certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Visualizing Race: Neoliberal Multiculturalism and the Struggle for Koreanness in Contemporary South Korean Television

Committee:

Shanti Kumar, Supervisor

Joe Straubhaar

Mary Celeste Kearney

Mary Beltrán

Madhavi Mallapragada

Robert Oppenheim

Visualizing Race: Neoliberal Multiculturalism and the Struggle for Koreanness in Contemporary South Korean Television

by

Ji-Hyun Ahn, B.A.; M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2013

Dedication

To my parents and grandparents for their persistent love and support

Acknowledgements

There are many people whom I would like to thank for their generous assistance during my graduate school days. The academic journey of completing my dissertation project and pursuing a doctoral degree in the US would have been impossible without their support and encouragement.

First and foremost, my biggest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Shanti Kumar. I am certain that I would have not been able to finish my dissertation without his passion for the project and enormous support given to me. Whenever I felt unconfident or uncertain about the project, he always believed the best of me, encouraged me with warm words, and challenged me to think more deeply and critically. I will always remember the atmosphere of our meetings where he inspired me with his genuine interests in my work and with his broad and deep intellectual knowledge. His steadfast encouragement, educational commitment, and intellectual inspiration have nurtured me to grow as a scholar. I just cannot thank him enough.

I also want to acknowledge my amazing team of committee members. Joe Straubhaar guided me to broaden my perspective beyond Korean media and popular culture. Whenever I visited him, I came out of his office with new ideas and plans. Mary Kearney helped me to be a critical thinker. She pushed me to critically re-engage with Western theories about gender and race. I feel so lucky to have Mary Beltrán, who joined our program when I was about to do my dissertation proposal in 2011, as my committee member. Her move to Austin from Wisconsin was a true gain on my side. Her classes were enormously helpful for me to shape my argument about mixed-race representation. Madhavi Mallapragada is a great mentor who has shared wise tips to balance work and life and has given me full emotional support. She taught me how to be a caring teacher through herself as a model. Last but not least, Robert Oppenheim helped me to get involved with the Center for East Asian Studies so that I can share my research interests with Asian Studies colleagues and provided opportunities to apply for research fellowships. I am so sure that those six committee members are the best dream team that I could ever imagine.

I also thank The University of Texas at Austin for providing financial support for my dissertation. My dissertation was dually funded by a Continuing Fellowship from the Graduate School of UT and a POSCO research fellowship from the Center for East Asian Studies at UT. In addition, I have been supported by the Department of Radio-Television-Film during my graduate studies in the form of Teaching Assistantship and Assistant

Instructorship. I also owed to the RTF staffs Char Burke, Bert Herigstad, and Gloria Holder for their kind assistance.

I am very grateful for the friendships that I have enjoyed during my graduate studies. First of all, I appreciate my RTF friends for their support. I must thank my Korean RTF family: Kyungsun Karen Lee, Shinhea Claire Lee, Hogeun Seo, Yoonmo Sang, Minsoo Jennifer Kang, Sujin Choi, Taehyun Cho as well as senior RTFers Herim Erin Lee, Namsu Park, Najin Jun, and Young-Gil Chae. I have so much enjoyed all the time we spent together. Whenever I feel happy or weary, they were always there for me. My life as a graduate student could not be explained without their existence. I especially thank Claire for arranging all the fun events/meetings. Claire, you were the glue to our group. I am also thankful for my fellow RTFers: Amanda Landa, Jacqueline Vickery, Morgan Blue, and Jessalynn Keller, Suzanne Schulz, Coin Tait, Alex Cho, Stuart Davis, Joshua Gleich, Caitlin McClune, Yi Lu, and Swapnil Rai. Because of their support, help, and friendship, I was able to step up and establish my academic life in the US. Although not an RTFer, Tien-Wen Lin also deserves my gratitude. Since the first day we met in Madhavi's class during our first semester at UT, she has been one of the most sincere friends whom I can trust and share many things with.

Beside my academic circle, a big thanks must go to my church friends. To Austin Stone group members: Liz Coufal, Steve Coufal, Emily Ng, Joshua Patterson, Michelle Law, Erin Feldman, and Janet Kuo, it was really a pleasure to meet all of you and I thank you for your prayers. To my beloved friends: Esther Lim, Da-Ae Shin, Jennifer Yom, Eunna Chung, Shinhea Claire Lee, and Hyun Jeong Ha, you are the treasures of my graduate school days. Our group meeting each week was definitely one of the most cherished moments in my life. I will never forget what we have shared and experienced in this group. Thank you for your incredible support and prayers. In particular, I would love to thank my dearest friend, Hyun Jeong Ha. I feel so blessed to have met her in Austin. Hyun Jeong, you are my best friend both spiritually and intellectually. Thank you for being there and making my life so much more exiting.

Last of all and most importantly, my deepest gratitude goes to my family. I appreciate my parents and grandparents for their infinite love, support, and prayers. To my grandparents, your outpouring of love towards me shaped my personality. I appreciate your legacy and will try my best to share what you have granted to me. To my little brother, thank you for your presence in our family. To mom and dad, you have always been proud of me and supported me to achieve my dreams. Thank you for everything you have provided for me. You are the best part of my life.

Visualizing Race: Neoliberal Multiculturalism and the Struggle for Koreanness in Contemporary South Korean Television

Ji-Hyun Ahn, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2013

Supervisor: Shanti Kumar

"Visualizing Race: Neoliberal Multiculturalism and the Struggle for Koreanness in Contemporary South Korean Television" investigates visual representations of multicultural subjects in both celebrity culture and the reality television genre to examine the struggle for Koreanness in contemporary Korean television. My aim is to explain the transformation from a modern monoracial Korea to a multicultural, global Korea as a national project of what I call "neoliberal multiculturalism" and to problematize the implicit tie between the two words, "neoliberal" and "multiculturalism." Using the category of mixed-race as an analytical window onto this cultural shift, I attempt to link the recent explosion of multiculturalism discourse in Korea to the much larger cultural, institutional, and ideological implications of racial globalization. To illustrate this shift, the dissertation analyzes both black and white mixed-race celebrities as well as ordinary multicultural subjects appearing on Korean reality programs. I examine historical archives, popular press sources, policy documents, and television programs in order to analyze them as an inter-textual network that is actively negotiating national identity.

Utilizing the concept of neoliberal multiculturalism as an overarching framework, the dissertation explicates how concepts such as nationality, race, gender, class, and the television genre are intricately articulated; it also critically deconstructs the hegemonic

notion of a multicultural, global Korea presented by the Korean media. I argue that Korean television deploys racial representations as a way to suture national anxiety over an increasing number of racial others and projects a multicultural fantasy towards Koreans. This interdisciplinary project contributes to several fields of study by explicating the changed cultural meaning of mixed-race in the age of globalization, defining the organic relation between the medium of television and racial representation, broadening our understanding of Asian multiculturalism and the racial politics in the region, and examining the particulars of ethnic nationalism appearing in the Korean media and popular culture.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction: Problematizing Korean Multiculturalism

Since the mid-2000s, the term multiculturalism has entered the Korean lexicon as migration has become more and more prevalent due to globalization. The cornerstone of this multiculturalism explosion was a 2006 visit by American football star Hines Ward, born to an African-American father and a Korean mother. He visited Korea with his Korean mother for the first time in his life right after he was named MVP; his team, the Pittsburgh Steelers, had won Super Bowl XL. His visit triggered the unspoken matter of mixed-race Koreans and initiated the rise of a multiculturalism discussion in Korean society. As a mixed-race individual with dark skin, Hines Ward soon became an emblematic figure who signaled racial politics in Korea.

That he became a key mixed-race media figure should be highlighted for two additional reasons. His image as a mixed-race media figure not only captures the moments of the media appropriating his otherness but also encapsulates the state's embracing him as a way to envision a multicultural Korea. During his short visit to Korea in 2006, he made a television commercial for Korean Exchange Bank in which he was represented as a symbol of the multicultural future of Korea. It clearly demonstrates that the media have embraced his image as a successful Korean-American football star to portray a new national identity in a global context. It is a significant change in terms of the Korean media landscapes in that a black-Korean, once othered in Korean history, became a new icon of multicultural national identity.

More importantly, the Hines Ward craze initiated the first ever governmental policy on multiculturalism. It signaled the emergence of and changes in technologies of governing racial others. It opened up a public discussion on the issues of human rights of migrant workers and those of mixed-race as well, which have rarely been discussed

publicly or even considered appropriate for governmental policy before the Hines Ward event. As a consequence, the Korean government announced "A plan for promoting the social integration of mixed-race and immigrants" in 2006 to integrate growing foreign populations. To put it another way, the Hines Ward case and its media discourse made invisible racial lines visible.

Drawing from various resources, generally speaking, there are six categories of racial and ethnic others in Korea (Eom, 2011; Paik, 2011; H. O. Park, 2011). They are ethnic-Chinese (*hwagyo*), Korean-Chinese (*chosunjok*), mixed-race (*honhyeol*)[1], migrant workers (*ijunodongja*), female marriage migrants (*yeoseong-gyeolhon-iminja*), multicultural families (*damunhwa-gajeong*)[2] and North Korean migrants (*bukhan-italjumin*). Although their presence in Korean society has a long history, they have been invisible until recently both in the televisual landscape and in public discourse because of their otherness. However, in the wake of the Hines Ward event and the multiculturalism explosion in Korea, they have become more and more visible in public discourse and in popular culture as well.

Given the sudden rise of multicultural representations in media, studying multiculturalism in Korea is not just a matter of political rhetoric or governmental policy. Rather, what matters is multiculturalism as a mediated discourse. The multiculturalism

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[1] The term *honhyol* is a Korean word for "mixed-blood" by definition. Obviously, it is not an indiscriminative, power-neutral term at all, because it presupposes the notion of "pure blood," which has superior value and status to mixed-blood. For this reason, in a Western context, the term mixed-race, multiracial, or biracial is more frequently used. Though controversial, the term mixed-race is preferred in this dissertation to speak to and engage with the larger scholarships in critical race studies and mixed-race studies. A more detailed explanation of the politics of terminologies will be elaborated in the following section.

[2] According to the Multicultural Families Support Act, "multicultural family is a family formed by the amalgamation of Korean nationals and legally residing marriage migrant women or migrant workers via marriage, consanguinity, and adoption, and the families of naturalized citizens. However, a family of permanent residents and a family formed by the marriage of two non-Korean nationals are not included under the term 'multicultural family'" (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2007).

discourse both in popular culture and in public discourse, including governmental policy, is always articulated through the lens of media. I insist that the "multiculturalism explosion since 2005 in Korea" itself needs to be analyzed as a cultural text because this explosion connotes that multiculturalism is accepted as a new way to imagine Korean society under the current social changes such as globalization and neoliberalization. Therefore, one of the main purposes of this dissertation is to study multiculturalism as a mediated discourse and examine the particular mode of Korean multiculturalism under the neoliberal turn and globalization of Korean popular culture and media industry. Considering the media as a central site for constructing the reality of a multicultural, global Korea, I aim to explore how the media construct the notion of racial others and create gendered and classed racial orders by mobilizing the multiculturalism discourse.

At this point, it is important to note that there are two discrepancies that I feel crucial in terms of studying the multiculturalism explosion, which shape my overall research agenda in a significant way. First, while the Korean government has been celebrating the new multicultural face of the nation for the past decade, there is a tension between this governmental celebration and the reality of growing hate crimes toward racial minorities. More theoretically, I recognize the huge gap between multiculturalism as a multicultural fact (e.g., the explosion of multicultural terms) and multiculturalism as a project (e.g., the discussion of political systems) (see Shohat & Stam, 2003), and between multiculturalism as a discourse and as real-life politics This gap leads me to the questions like: What does this ardent celebration of multiculturalism *really* mean to us as a public? What does this huge gap *indicate* about Korean society? In this sense, I am very suspicious and critical towards multiculturalism in Korea. My critical concerns are shared by others. For instance, civil organizations and NGOs criticize state-led multiculturalism

as a fantasy. They argue that it is "multiculturalism without multiculture," and that there is *no* multiculturalism at all in Korea (K. S. Oh, 2009).

Another discrepancy that I feel significant, in a global context, is the decline of multiculturalism among Western countries and its rise among the Asian ones. Starting in the 1970s, the term multiculturalism was widely used as a way to theorize cultural difference and minority rights (Goldberg, 1994; Melamed, 2006). Many Western countries such as the UK, Germany, Canada, the U.S.A., and France, which consist of multiracial and multiethnic groups, especially celebrated multiculturalism to (re)unify the nation. In this sense, multiculturalism was a hegemonic political and cultural ideology in the 1980s-1990s, particularly in the West. However, many countries that actively incorporated multiculturalism as a state policy in the past are now officially abolishing multiculturalism (Australia, France) or announcing that multiculturalism has failed (the UK, Germany), because multiculturalism in those countries ironically increases hate crimes among ethnic groups and (re)produces racism (Ang, 2001; Gordon & Newfield, 1996; Hall, 2001).

In contrast, it is interesting to note that the academic discussion on Asian multiculturalism is now burgeoning due to an increase in global migration today (Chang, 2000; B.-H. Chua, 1998; Kymlicka & He, 2005; T. Lim, 2009). It means that racial politics in Asia is different from the multicultural West. Asia experiences a different racialization process; thus, multiculturalism in Asia requires different (academic) inquiries and interventions. I am posing the question, "Is it possible to study race in (East) Asia, which used to be thought of as very homogenous in terms of race and ethnicity?" This question is important because race has not been discussed in (East) Asia; instead, nationality has always been a preferred marker of racial difference. Hence, studying the multicultural explosion in Korea, which used to be considered one of the most racially

homogenous countries in the world, provides ample insights and avenues to broaden our understanding of the current racial reconfiguration in Asia.

My assumption is that the multiculturalism explosion is symptomatic of struggles over racial reconfiguration (see Ang, 2001; Hesse, 2000). In other words, multiculturalism itself is not the focus of the multiculturalism explosion. Instead, I believe this phenomenon signals a much larger social transformation now happening in Korea: the struggle for Koreanness (or Korean national identity) in the age of globalization and multiculturalism. I will address its complex articulation in depth throughout the dissertation. In other words, this project aims to study how the statist multicultural project is confluent with the neoliberal (economic) turn after the Asian economic crisis in the late 1990s. More specifically, it examines how race plays a central role in articulating those two axes – statist multiculturalism and the market force of neoliberalism – in contemporary Korean popular culture.

Thus, what matters is not multiculturalism itself, but what it opens up for discussion. In other words, multiculturalism is not a final destination, but rather a key that opens up larger inquiries. For instance, how does the nation-state create the racial order as a way to regulate racial others? How are discourses like nationalism, postcolonialism, racism, patriotism, and neoliberalism colluding with and contesting each other? How are the categories of race, gender, and class articulated through multiculturalism? How has the strategy of the nation's imagining itself been changed under this highly multicultural and global atmosphere? What is the role of media in all of those issues?

These are the inquiries that are more compelling to ask than whether we should adopt multiculturalism or not, or whether there is what we can call Korean multiculturalism or not. Cruz (1996) is right. Multiculturalism is not enough. It should be reconceptualized as a *means* rather than an *end* (Cruz, 1996, p. 37, emphasis in original).

Hence, I would argue that this dissertation is *not* about multiculturalism itself, but, rather, it positions the past decade's multiculturalism explosion in Korea within a larger framework: the formation of neoliberal multiculturalism in contemporary Korea.

1.2 RESEARCH PROJECT

To consider multiculturalism as a means, not an end, the dissertation focuses on racial reconfiguration in Korea as influenced by the massive flow of global migration today and the spectacularization of the racial bodies on the screen in contemporary Korean television. The primary goal is to study how media practices have facilitated the re-imagination of a Korean national identity from the global media perspective. Considering race as a fundamental principle shaping global social order, I aim to theoretically understand the complex nature of current racial globalization coupled with the transnational circulation of Korean media and cultural texts.

To unpack the inquiries that I have addressed above, the dissertation sets three main research questions as described below:

(1) How does the Korean media's imagining of a modern monoracial/monocultural Korea in the past (from the 1960s to the late 1980s)[3] *differ from recent representations of a multicultural, global Korea (from the early 1990s to the*

[3] The birth of the modern nation-state of Korea occurred in 1948, the year of division, which, therefore, designates the official establishment of the Republic of Korea (ROK). Of course, there have been various theories and views about when the modern Korean nation-state first began because there were multiple historical events that complicate the discussion: Japanese colonialism (1910~1945), the division of the country into two Koreas (1948), and the Korean War (1950). Some argue that the modern nation, broadly speaking, started even before the Japanese colonialism in the late 19th century, whereas others argue that it started after the Korean War in a strict sense. However, by "modern monoracial Korea," I mean the period from the 1960s to the late 1980s to emphasize that the strong ideological construction of a monoracial Korea started in the 1960s through the work of an authoritarian regime and a statist (propagandistic) media system.

present)? How can we understand this transformation from a modern monoracial Korea to a contemporary multicultural/global Korea from the perspective of race-nation-media?

(2) What is the significance of the category of mixed-race for examining the struggle for Korean national identity in contemporary Korean television? How do the commercial Korean media utilize successful images of Amerasian celebrities, both black and white mixed-race, as a way to imagine a multicultural, global Korea? How do the media discourses about mixed-race celebrities articulated in the matrix of gender, class, and nationality complicate our understanding of race in a global context?

(3) In comparison to celebrity culture, how does the genre of reality television mediate the racialization process by locating Asian mixed-race at the center of a multicultural project? How do the multicultural desire of the state and the neoliberal market forces drive the national project of globalizing multicultural reality of Korea on both public broadcasting and commercial channels?

It was commonly believed that Korea is a homogeneous country in terms of race and culture. However, this common belief was a myth constructed by the state to unify national identity. This is why nationalism, sustained by the idea of a monocultural Korea, has worked as a powerful tool to mobilize national development over the past few decades in Korea. The media have played a central role in envisioning a monocultural Korea and mobilizing Korean nationalism.

In his excellent book, Anderson (1983) explains the birth of the modern nation-state and nationalism in terms of the development of print media in relation to capitalism. The beauty of his work is that it illuminates the fact that print media provided a necessary

condition for a certain mode of imagination in the birth of modern nation-states. Expanding Anderson's argument, radio and television are also central to envisioning modern nation-states (Hilmes, 1997). In particular, television has become a national medium that still remains influential even today (Newcomb & Hirsch, 1983). In this sense, the television is not just a small box or a trivial object, but a cultural medium that mediates people's way of imagining themselves as a part of various types of communities, from a family, in a small sense, to a nation-state or a global community in a larger sense (Parks & Kumar, 2003). Hence, the television as a cultural forum certainly provides ample resources for people's imagination (Barker, 1999; Kumar, 2006; Newcomb & Hirsch, 1983; Williams, 1975).

It is in this context that the Korean televisual landscape becomes a crucial site in exploring how the Korean media formulated the myth of a monocultural nation in the modern period. It also allows us to explore the ways in which imagining Korean national identity have changed in contemporary Korea as globalization and multiculturalism become more and more prevalent. This inquiry is closely tied to the question of state regulation of racial others because imagining a racially homogeneous and monocultural nation means there is a certain rule or logic of who gets included and excluded as a member of the nation. To put it another way, why have some groups of people been left out in imagining a Korean national community regardless of the fact that there have always been foreigners and racial others in Korean history? That is because the state has regulated racial others when imagining its national identity. This is state racism in that the state systematically governs and discriminates against certain groups of people (Foucault, 2003).

Turning away from a monocultural Korea and moving towards a multicultural Korea, in other words, signifies that the category of race becomes a crucial analytical unit

for understanding Korean society. Due to massive migration around the world today, ethnoscapes in Korea are now changing, which has been accompanied by changes in mediascapes as well (Appadurai, 1996). The increasing number of multiethnic and multiracial representations in Korean television contributes to the construction of racial formation (Omi & Winant, 1994). In other words, television provides rich repertoires, narratives, and references for creating racialized discourses, which leads to the rearrangement of the racial order in Korea. The point here is that, in this process, media, state, and the public all together participate in the formation of racial order. Thus, the multiculturalism explosion, in this context, is significant to study because it is another way of the state's governing racial others, which brings about a (re)shaping of the racial order in contemporary Korea compared to the past.

Despite the belief in a racially homogeneous Korea, there have been various types of racial and ethnic groups in Korea. As noted above, they are ethnic-Chinese, Korean-Chinese, mixed-race, migrant workers, female marriage migrants, multicultural families, and North Korean migrants. Table 1 below provides a detailed explanation of each group within a historical context.

Ethnic/Racial Others		Period of Immigration	Identity and Historical Background
Ethnic-Chinese		1882-present	They are Chinese who live in Korea. Their major occupation in Korea was initially running a restaurant business. Since they are not Korean, however, the government has systematically restricted their business and regulated their communities.
Korean-Chinese		1910s-present	They are Koreans who live in a certain district (*Yeonbyeon*: near the China-North Korea borderline) in China. They were forced to move up North during Japanese colonialism.
Mixed-Race	Amerasian	1960-70	During and after the Korean War (1950), prostitution/entertainment districts appeared near military camp towns. Many members of this group are the children of American soldiers and Korean women in the districts.
	'Kosian'	1990s-present	They are the children of migrant workers/female marriage migrants (mostly from Asia) and their Korean spouses. They are also called the children of multicultural families.
Migrant workers		Late 1980s-present	Migrant workers came to Korea around 1988. Although their nationalities vary, most of them are coming from South East Asia.
Female marriage migrants		Mid 1990s-present	Female marriage migrants as a social phenomenon started from the mid-1990s. Many of them are coming from East Asian countries including China, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Cambodia.
North Korean migrants		Mid 1990s-present	As North Korea has experienced economic crisis and regime crisis starting from the mid-90s, a massive exodus from North Korea to South Korea began. The number is still increasing.

Table 1: Historical background of ethnic and racial others in Korea

As clearly illustrated in Table 1, racial others have existed even before the birth of the modern Korean nation-state. Although each group has its own uniqueness considering its relation to state policy, my primary concern lies in mixed-race people because the category of mixed-race unpacks research questions that I have posed above in an

interesting and profound way. Among ethnic/racial others in Korea, Korean-Chinese and North Korean migrants are "others" in that, although their bloodline as Koreans is never questioned, they are othered because their nationality (or ethnicity) is different from Koreans. Unlike them, however, migrant workers, female marriage migrants, and ethnic-Chinese are racial others because they are non-Koreans not only in terms of their nationality but also in terms of their race and ethnicity. Since they do not share Korean bloodlines, they can become a Korean (citizen) only through affiliation, such as marriage to a Korean spouse.

This differentiation leads to the unique character of the mixed-race. They are technically Koreans by their bloodline and nationality as most Koreans are. However, ironically enough, their Koreanness is always in question and challenged because of their "half" Koreanness made visible by their skin color. Namely, they are considered to be Koreans, but not quite. Therefore, drawing on theorists like Homi Bhabha, Stuart Hall, and Ian Ang, I argue that mixed-race can be a crucial analytical framework to interrogate how the concepts of nation-state, citizenship, race, and national identity are contested. Furthermore, they are central in understanding racial formation in contemporary Korea because they articulate other categories of multicultural subjects, such as female marriage migrants, mixed-race people, and multicultural families, who are the main subjects of the government's multiculturalism policy today.

To advance our discussion in a much more nuanced way, the use of the term mixed-race needs to be further elaborated here. As I have explained, the direct translation of the Korean word *honhyeol* would be "mixed-blood." To highlight the peculiarity of this Korean context, the use of the term *honhyeol* or its direct English translation, "mixed-blood," would be preferred. Yet, I prefer not to use either *honhyeol* or mixed-blood because readers who have no background knowledge of Korean society would find

the terms racist. Moreover, what further complicates the matter is that there is no agreement on terminology among Korean scholars who write about this issue in English. Some use *honhyeol*, others use mixed-blood, and still others use mixed-race. Thus, I am purposefully using mixed-race to indicate *honhyeol* in Korea not only because it is a more neutral term, but because it also speaks to the larger area of scholarship in critical race studies and mixed-race studies in general. Therefore, I should emphasize that the term mixed-race in this dissertation is context-driven in that it connotes a specific historical context and discursive practice of *honhyeol* in Korean society, yet it also engages in the literature and scholarship in critical race studies and critical media/cultural studies.

Taking the category of mixed-race as an analytical window into the cultural shift from a presumed monoracial Korea to today's multicultural and global Korea, in this dissertation, I attempt to link the recent explosion of multiculturalism discourse in Korea to the much larger cultural, institutional, and ideological implications of racial globalization. To illustrate this shift, I analyze visual representations of mixed-race celebrities as well as ordinary multicultural subjects appearing in reality programs. Utilizing mixed-race analysis, the dissertation explicates how concepts such as nationality, race, gender, class, and the television genre are intricately articulated and critically deconstructs the hegemonic notion of multicultural, global Korea presented by Korean media.

1.3 Theoretical Background and Analytical Framework

1.3.1 Multiculturalism in a Global Context: Challenges of the Nation Building Project

Multiculturalism can be discussed from various viewpoints, based upon the actors involved. Multiculturalism exists as minority politics, including race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and disability; as political theory; as education and curriculum reform; and the list goes on (Mills, 2007, p. 89). Due to this wide scope, Gunew (2004) states that "multiculturalism is now often perceived as an empty signifier onto which a range of groups project their fears and hopes" (p. 19). Thus, it is important to situate from what point of view the multiculturalism discussion is debated. My standpoint is to contextualize multiculturalism as a nation-building project in the era of globalization and see how the boundaries of the nation-state are reconfigured under the tension between multiculturalism and neoliberal globalization, which is one of key themes of my dissertation.

I believe it is worthwhile to look at how multiculturalism has been discussed in terms of its relation to the nation-state since it is one type of nation-building project that shapes national identity among diverse groups. (Ang, 2001; Kymlicka, 2002, 2007). Ang (2001) argues that "multiculturalism is nothing more and nothing less than a more complex form of nationalism, aimed at securing national boundaries in an increasingly borderless world" (p. 16). In other words, she acknowledges that multiculturalism is a national project to manage cultural diversity within a nation-state.

However, I call attention to how multiculturalism as a nation-building project challenges or fractures the existence and boundaries of the nation-state. There are many challenges and debates with regards to multiculturalism, mainly due to the rise of various new forces such as globalization and neoliberalism. Globalization and other forces have

led us to critically reengage multiculturalism from other perspectives. Thus, it is necessary to map out and contextualize these new challenges and debates and the critical issues they are offering to sharpen our understanding of multiculturalism in relation to the nation-state. In this way, we should reconsider multiculturalism as a meaningful site for (re)theorizing crucial concepts such as nation, race, and culture.

Globalization has affected and challenged the present discussion on multiculturalism. As Appadurai (1996) argues, globalization is not a homogenization process, but a process of difference and disjuncture. To explore such disjunctures, he suggests five dimensions of global cultural flows: ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, and ideoscapes (Appadurai, 1996, p. 33). By defining those five scapes, he puts emphasis on different perspectives and dynamics of flow. Moreover, globalization has changed our way of understanding the fundamental relationship between center and periphery (Hannerz, 1997; Keane, 2006), global and local (Hall, 1997a, 1997b), and universal and particular (Robertson, 1997) in a global context. Going one step further, the arguments presented by many scholars in globalization studies have made us reconsider the present notion of a nation-state and its fragments (Ang 2001; (Ang, 2001; Ang & Stratton, 1996; Appadurai, 1996; Hall, 1997a, 1997b; Keane, 2006).

Appadurai suggests that we are now living in the postnational era: the period of nation-states is near its end. He states that, “We can see that electronic mass mediation and transnational mobilization have broken the monopoly of autonomous nation-states over the project of modernization” (Appadurai, 1996, p. 10). In his words, “modernity is at large” because the hyphen that links nation to state is getting fainter and looser so that the nation-state no longer functions as a key arbiter of the modern project.

This challenge to the notion of nation-states caused by the global circulation of people and capital competes and colludes with multiculturalism in several ways. Gunew (2004) argues as such:

> Multicultural critical theory can serve to remind one of both the local and the global in that it introduces minority perspectives as well as suggesting diasporic networks. It continues to be a way of situating subjectivities outside certain nationalist investments and hence may be used as a way of paying attention to minority perspectives, using them to critique dominant discourses and practices (p. 28).

Due to the transnational flows of people and resources, multiculturalism is now facing the question of how to embrace those newly created minorities and moving agencies. In what way should the nation-state as a major framework of multiculturalism be changed?

Studying contemporary Japanese cinema and its cinematic representations of racial/ethnic minorities, Ko (2010) utilizes the concept of "cosmetic multiculturalism" to demonstrate the struggle for Japaneseness. She argues that multiculturalism is op-opted by the mainstream Japanese cinema and mobilized to reinforce (new) Japanese nationalism in the era of globalization, although the cultural site of cosmetic multiculturalism provides a limited space for racial others to resist and raise their voices. She explains:

> Cosmetic multiculturalism is a *neo-nihonjineon*, re-invented for the specific context of so-called globalization and post-colonialism, in which it is required to deal with the tension between 'global and international' and 'local and national' (Ko, 2010, p. 30).

In other words, to (re)vitalize nationalism, Japanese cinema utilizes the visual representations of racial/ethnic others (the oppressed) to make it more politically correct and, at the same time, to sustain hegemonic ruling ideologies towards them. Based on Ko (2010)'s argument, what becomes important is how nationalism reformulates its logic, articulating other competing ideologies, including multiculturalism and neoliberalism.

It is in this context that I believe Bhabha (1990)'s idea of reading "nation as narration" provides ample insight for examining contested notion(s) of nationalism/multiculturalism. What he means by this expression is that the nation is not a static or privileged idea; rather, it narrates its shifting status. He particularly talks about the ambivalence of the nation as a concept, which he calls the "Janus-faced character of nation" (Bhabha, 1990, p. 4). In other words, the nation is not merely a physical territory or a static entity, but it is a conceptual identity that changes its form to suture (internal) conflicts. This way of approaching the nation is crucial in that the nation continuously changes its status and form so that the cultural boundaries are always dynamic and fluid, which has become even more obvious in the era of neoliberalism.

1.3.2 Neoliberal Multiculturalism: Theorizing the Tension between Neoliberalism and Multiculturalism

As discussed above, economic globalization (the neoliberal turn of the global economy) brings crucial challenges for multiculturalism. One of the primary criticisms of multiculturalism is whether multiculturalism is a cultural logic of neoliberal capitalism in the global era. Cruz (1996) argues that multiculturalism is symptomatic of our particular historical conjuncture within the social formation of late-capitalism (p.19). Recalling that Jameson (1991) demonstrates postmodernism as cultural logic of late-capitalism, it is crucial to consider the fundamental relationship between capital and culture once again to have more a profound understanding of the relationship between neoliberal capitalism and multiculturalism in this era.

It seems certain that "neoliberalism has become hegemonic as a mode of discourse" (Harvey, 2005, p. 3) and has pervasive effects on the way we think, live, and understand the world today. The basic idea of neoliberalism is to establish a free market economic system. In order to maximize market efficiency, the goal of neoliberalism is to

reduce the state's intervention in the economy (e.g., deregulation and privatization), which, in turn, would result in an increase in social good. Harvey explains:

> Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. (Harvey, 2005, p. 2).

Historically, the discussion of neoliberal policy was first initiated by the US and the UK when they experienced a domestic as well as an international economic crisis in the 1970s. The crisis of Fordism led to a long economic depression in both countries, which declared the failure of the state and the opening of the market. Hence, the role of the state had to be re-adjusted. In other words, the state should not have too much authority over the market; it rather exists to maximize profit through securing free markets and fair competition. However, the theory of neoliberalism and the actual pragmatics of neoliberalism do not always coincide (Harvey, 2005, p. 21). It is in this sense that Aihwa Ong (2006)'s ethnographic work on Asian neoliberalism becomes significant because she explicates how neoliberalism works differently in an Asian context through her ethnographic research on Chinese case studies.

Critically reengaging with what has been discussed about (Western) neoliberalism, Ong (2006) argues that neoliberalism in Asia is not an economic-political system as it is in the West, but is rather "a technology of governing that relies on calculative choices and techniques in the domains of citizenship and of governing" (Ong, 2006, p. 4). In other words, neoliberalism as a set of "optimizing technologies" (Ong, 2006) allows exceptions to neoliberalism to sustain the hegemonic rule of the society. What becomes crucial here is the role of the state and its sovereign power. Unlike our common understanding of the neoliberal state, whose role/power is minimized to shape

the neoliberal social orders in the West, the neoliberal state in Asia still remains robust and centralized because the state continuously makes exceptions based on strategic choices on behalf of national interests. The Chinese state's creation of exceptional zones/spaces such as "Special Economic Zones" (SEZS) and "Special Administration Regions" (SARS) best exemplifies how the state's sovereign power works through producing neoliberal exceptions. Put differently, "In Asian milieus, the option of exception has allowed states to carve up their own territory so they can better engage and compete in global markets" (Ong, 2006, p. 19).

Together with Ong's argument on neoliberalism as an exception in Asia, some scholars who study neoliberalism in the Asian context also agree that the state is still an important player in economic neoliberalism. They suggest the concept of "developmental neoliberalism" to highlight the role of developmental discourse in formulating Asian neoliberalism (Y. Cho, 2012; B.-D. Choi, 2012; B.-G. Park, Hill, & Saito, 2012). In the same vein, the discussion of economic nationalism in Asia shows how Asian governments have pursued economic nationalism as a way to carve out their own space in the neoliberal world economy (D'Costa, 2012).

Although those studies rightly point out the relation between the state and neoliberal economic practices, they fail to address that this neoliberal social order is *already* racialized and gendered. Hence, some scholars position race at the center of the neoliberalization process and call on us to rethink how neoliberalism restructures the way we experience race today (see also D.-A. Davis, 2007; Parameswaran, 2009; Thomas & Clarke, 2006). Criticizing the relation between neoliberal capitalism and racism, Zizek (1997) diagnoses that "contemporary 'postmodern' racism is the symptom of multiculturalist late-capitalism, bringing to light the inherent contradiction of the liberal-democratic ideological project" (p. 162). On the same note, Roberts and Mahtani (2010)'s

work is particularly insightful to discuss how racist ideologies are reproduced under the neoliberal project. They argue:

> Neoliberalization is understood as a socioeconomic process that has racial implications, but little is said about the ways that neoliberalism modifies the way race is experienced or understood in society. We suggest that this theorization is incomplete. We recommend a move from analyses of *race and neoliberalism* towards analyses that *race neoliberalism*. This kind of analysis more clearly delineates how race and racism are inextricably embedded in the neoliberal project. […] We suggest that there is a seductive, common-sense logic to neoliberalism that reproduces racist ideologies. We highlight the fruitfulness of this way of understanding race and neoliberalism in our case study. (Roberts & Mahtani, 2010, p. 250)

Agreeing with their argument, I also contend that we need to understand race as an organizing principle of society that neoliberalism reinforces and modifies. However, I believe that the concept of "racing neoliberalism" is too narrow to discuss the different mode of articulations between the two competing ideologies – multiculturalism and neoliberalism – and how other categories such as gender and class complicate the issue in relation to shaping Korean national identity, which is the primary focus of my dissertation. Hence, I suggest an alternative term – "neoliberal multiculturalism" – in order to discuss multicultural and neoliberal battles on contemporary Korean television, which is shaped by the tension between the market and the state. I believe the concept of neoliberal multiculturalism not only speaks to the articulation of race and neoliberalism, where it is a central dimension in the case of the mixed-race category, but it also foregrounds and complicates questions of race, gender, and class at the same time. To put it differently, race is still an important dimension in my formulation of neoliberal multiculturalism, but it is not the only determining factor that drives the nationalistic impulse toward multiculturalism under the neoliberal transformation of contemporary Korean society. Therefore, taking the concept as an overarching framework of my

dissertation, my three analytic chapters (Chapters 3, 4, and 5) track the articulations of neoliberalism and multiculturalism in the Korean context and examine its flexible (or hyphenated) articulation between "neoliberal" and "multiculturalism."

1.3.3 Studying Race in Media/Cultural Studies: A Race-Nation-Media Nexus

To contemplate neoliberal multiculturalism and the struggle for Koreanness in contemporary Korean television, I contend that a race-nation-media articulation is essential since it provides an analytical framework for discussing the transformation of the mode of imagining Korea from a modern monoracial Korea to a contemporary multicultural global Korea. Moreover, this nexus of race-nation-media can enrich my discussion of different modalities of neoliberal multiculturalism – the tension between the multicultural battle and the neoliberal one – in contemporary Korean media, by providing several other perspectives and conceptual categories articulated to those three central axes. For instance, the race-nation-media articulation can be extended to **Race**-(gender-class)-**Nation**-(state/government-market)-**Media**, since those categories in brackets always get articulated with each other.[4]

It is significant to note that the category of race used to be ignored compared to other categories such as gender and class because Korea used to be thought of as a monoracial country. As K. Han (2007) demonstrates, there have long been practices that naturalize ethnic homogeneity and nationalism. Therefore, race has not been discussed as a social issue in Korea for a long time (H.-E. Lee, 2009). It is true that the studies on Korean society are basically based on gender and class, eliding race, while Western society explains its social changes and conflicts based on the frame of race, gender, and class. However, Korea is now experiencing a great new influx of immigrants, which

[4] It does not necessarily mean that those categories in brackets are less important, just that they are not the primary articulators in my formulation.

signals racial diversity in Korea. Thus, now the category of race/ethnicity is valid in analyzing Korean society because many groups that have various cultural, racial, and religious backgrounds have come to Korea and they diversify Korean society.

Given that race has not been at the center of media discourse until recently, research in Korean studies has rarely focused on this articulation of race-nation-media (G. C. Jeon, 1999; H.-E. Lee, 2009). Therefore, studying how race has been discussed in media/cultural studies would provide a critical standpoint to discuss the Korean case. At this point, it is crucial to look at how British media/cultural studies scholars have intervened in and engaged with racial issues along with the discussion on British multiculturalism because their works not only contributed to the birth of media/cultural studies as an academic discipline but also tremendously impacted and inspired the ways in which we think of race and racial politics in a specific socio-historical context. For instance, Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, Kobena Mercer, and many others have studied what it means to be a black British subject in a postcolonial, multicultural Britain. They strategically deconstruct the language of British nationalism as well as the essentialist way of understanding blackness (see Baker, Diawara, & Lindeborg, 1996).

The contribution of black British cultural studies is to bring race to explorations of the changes in social structures and conditions of social struggles. *Policing the Crisis* (Hall et al., 1978) and *The Empire Strikes Back* (CCCS, 1982) are the most well-known and appreciated books for their holistic approach to the issues of race, class, state, and media. Their key argument is that race relations were a central aspect of the economic and social crisis in the ’70s (Solomos, Findlay, Jones, & Gilroy, 1982, p. 28). Specifically, the image of “mugging” serves as a perfect articulator of the crisis in ’70s Britain (Hall et al., 1978, p. viii). Mugging suddenly became a social problem in ’70s Britain, because the media reported black youth’s mugging as a moral panic, which

defined blacks as criminals who threatened (white) British national identity, as a way to overcome the crisis (Gilroy, 1982; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Robert, 1978). This speaks to Gilroy's more in-depth analysis on the disjuncture between race and nation. Gilroy (1987) demonstrates that blacks are systematically discriminated against or absent in the British imagined community because Britishness is supposedly homogenous in its whiteness and Christianity. The presence of blacks in British history is obvious, but, ironically enough, blacks are unimaginable because blackness and Britishness are incompatible.

Based on the constructed-ness of race, it is also argued that racism is historically specific as well; therefore, various forms of racisms exist across time and space (CCCS, 1982; Hall, 1978; Hall et al., 1978). Even though the crisis in '70s Britain was a complex articulation of worldwide economic crisis and the failure of Thatcherism, the ruling class or the state managed the crisis through policing a certain type of crime, mugging, as a symbol of moral panic. In other words, the ruling class reproduced its hegemonic power through policing and managing the crisis. The media are central to this process of shaping, reproducing, and circulating dominant ideologies of the time. By labeling the events as muggings and blaming black youth as a primary cause of the moral panic, the media defined who should be punished and magnified blacks' responsibility. The notion of *primary definers*, spokesmen or social authorities who first define what the problem is, explains how the media reproduce the existing power structure (Hall et al., 1978, p. 58). Moreover, through editorializing, "the media provide a crucial mediating link between the apparatus of social control and the public" (Hall et al., 1978, p. 63). In other words, media actively participate in creating a hegemonic understanding of blacks as a social problem.

This is why the emergence of the authoritarian state is the key to examine the changes in the form of racism during the ’70s (Solomos et al., 1982). The rise of muggings and resistant youth subculture in ’70s Britain represented a crisis of state hegemony, meaning the society did not function properly through social consensus anymore. It rather was in need of a strong, authoritarian state as a way to overcome the national crisis. This is why the state, media, police, and court all together overreacted to the black youth muggings. In this sense, I argue that black British media/cultural studies scholars’ attempts to intervene in the racism of ’70s Britain is, in other words, proclaiming the formation of a certain type of racial/racist state in Britain.

The scene changed as Britain was stepping into the 1990s. Britain experienced another shift from conservative Thatcherism to Blair’s New Labour movement. The shift represents several changes: from monocultural Britain to multicultural Britain; from national to postnational; from old and conservative Britain to Cool Britannia; and the rise of cool Asians (Hall, 2000; Hesse, 2000; Luckett, 2003). The multiculturalism was celebrated as a way to imagine a “New Britain.”

Examining a successful sitcom about Britasians, *Goodness Gracious Me* aired on BBC2, Luckett (2003) argues that this show re-imagines Britishness in the era of multicultural and postnational Britain, where multicultural experiences of the nation in terms of race, ethnicity, language, religion, and sexuality become more prevalent. Accordingly, the ways in which media represent racial others or racial/ethnic minorities have been changed as well (Hall, 1996; Luckett, 2003). Under the new politics of representation, the concept of ethnicity is also contested and has to be renewed (Hall, 1996, p. 447). Thus, as a way to deconstruct the hegemonic and settled notion of Englishness under Thatcherism and to decouple ethnicity from Britishness, Hall (1996) suggests that we understand black experience as a diaspora experience (p. 448). This is

well encapsulated by Gilroy's expression, "Black Atlantic." Repudiating ethnic absolutism, Gilroy (1993) demonstrates how this diasporic black identity has become an important characteristic of black political culture today that continuously challenges the hegemonic single national culture in Western Europe.

Australia shares a quite similar but distinctive path compared to the West. While blacks and Asians from South Asia are two essential racial others imagined in a multicultural, multiethnic Britain, Aboriginals and Asians from East Asia are crucial in Australia. Blacks are to Britain what Asians are to Australia in that Asians have been excluded from the formation of the modern Australian nation because the presence of Asians has been considered as a threat to national identity (Ang, 2001, pp. 121-122). Comparing American multiculturalism with the Australian version, Stratton and Ang (1998) examine how the discourse of race works differently in constructing national identity in each country. They explain that America built its national identity through ideological means, which means one can become a member of a multicultural imagined community of America as one accepts the shared idea of the "American way of life." In contrast, migrants in Australia were able to assimilate into Australian society only through adopting everyday cultural practices (of the whites). In this sense, the category of race was located *within* the imagined community in the American case, whereas it was located *at its limits* in the Australian one (Stratton & Ang, 1998, p. 150, emphasis added). The Australian example is significant to note because it offers parallels to the development of the multicultural situation in Korea: how the Korean state and media deal with cultural difference and national identity through the language of multiculturalism.

1.3.4 Deconstructing Binaries: The Mixed-Race Category as an Analytical Framework

The racial category of mixed-race is central in my dissertation not only due to its theoretical implications but also its practical significance. In a theoretical sense, hybrid identity and cultural hybridity, including mixed-race, has been an important academic theme in terms of theorizing ambivalent identity and double-consciousness (Beltran & Fojas, 2008; Bhabha, 1994, 1998; Canclini, 1995; F. J. Davis, 1992; Hall, 1996, 1997b; M. Kraidy, 2005; Nakashima, 1992; Papastergiadis, 1997; Rutherford, 1990). One of the most crucial (theoretical) implications of the mixed-race category is that it deconstructs formerly rigid binary oppositions such as black and white, the colonizer and the colonized, the master and the slave, and the original and the reproduced, since the category points out that those binaries are not fixed for good but rather constructed. In other words, theorists argue that hybrid identity is always in process and is produced through cultural negotiation, refuting an essentialist way of understanding various forms of cultural identities such as gender, race, class, sexuality, religion and so on (Ang, 2001; Canclini, 1995; Hall, 1978, 1995; Valentine, 2009). More specifically, the theory of mixed-race points to the myth of a black and white racial binary system by showing that mixed-race subjects are neither black nor white, but both at the same time, which demonstrates that it is this discourse of a racial binary system that endlessly produces racism against mixed-race people (Valentine, 2009).

However, hybrid identity does not mean simply a combination of different identities. As Papastergiadis (1997) explains, "Its 'unity' is not found in the sum of its parts, but emerges from the process of opening what Homi Bhabha has called a Third Space within which other elements encounter and transform each other" (p. 258). Resonant with Papastergiadis' explanation of hybridity, Ang (2001) also argues,

"Hybridity is a concept which confronts and problematizes all the boundaries, although it does not erase them. As a concept, hybridity belongs to the space of the frontier, the border, the contact zone" (p. 16). As both Nikos Papastergiadis and Ian Ang suggest, the hybrid identity opens up a new space of possibility, which speaks to what Homi Bhabha (1994) calls a Third Space. Bhabha explains the term:

> For me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the Third Space, which enables other positions to emerge (Rutherford, 1990, p. 211).

Hence, hybridity (or mixed-race in this context) is not merely the sum of two different racial categories; rather, it is a producing/emerging (conceptual) category that blurs the limitations of existing boundaries and challenges the established categorizations of racial identities. Given the theoretical implication of the mixed-race category that embodies hybrid, in-between identity, I believe the choice of mixed-race as a way to ponder how neoliberal multiculturalism is formed in contemporary Korean media is not only meaningful, but also strategic for several analytic reasons.

First, in an analytic and a practical sense, this category allows us to trace the changes in governmental regulatory techniques toward racial others as well as changes in the cultural meaning of the mixed-race category in the eyes of the Korean media over time. This is because the types of mixed-race individuals differ across several generations from the modern monoracial period to the present day in Korea, Another reason why the category of mixed-race is so crucial is because multicultural families, whose children are all mixed-race, are the most important subject in Korea's current multiculturalism policy. Thus, taking mixed-race as an analytical unit is very strategic in that, on one level, it allows us to interrogate the changes in the representational mode of racial others through the perspective of historical analysis; on another level, it broadens our discussion to other

multicultural subjects such as female marriage migrants and other (Asian) immigrants, including Korean-Chinese.

As elaborated in Table 1, there are two types of mixed-race groups in Korea: Amerasian and 'Kosian.' Those two categories of mixed-race in Korea need to be further elaborated, since they are historically specific terms that indicate different racialization processes throughout Korean history (see M. Lee, 2008; Paik, 2011; Seol, 2007). According to M. Lee (2008), "the term Amerasian was coined by the writer Pearl Buck to denote persons born to one American and one Asian parent following the intervention of the U.S. military in the Asia-Pacific region after World War II" (p. 81). Given that the term Amerasian specifically designates the heavy presence of the American army in the Asian region after World War II, the existence of Amerasians can be seen as a pan-Asian phenomenon, which means the term has a general currency among Asian countries, although specific use of the term may vary depending on the society. In the Korean context, Amerasian symbolizes racial relations between America and Korea in modern day Korea, particularly after the Korean War in 1950. Compared to Amerasian, the term 'Kosian' is relatively new because it was first used in the late 1990s to describe Asian mixed-race people. M. Lee (2008) explains the origin and the usage of the term as follows:

> The term ['Kosian'] was first introduced in 1997 in Korea by civic groups who were researching issues related to migrant worker presence. The term was popularized in 2004 when a certain newspaper used it during a special feature on international marriage in the countryside. The term 'Kosian' refers to children of marriages between Koreans and other Asians, usually between Korean men and Southeast Asian women or, in some cases, South Asian male laborers and Korean women (M. Lee, 2008, p. 69).

However, the term 'Kosian' is problematic in that the term itself discriminates mixed-race people from the full-blood, general Koreans, by claiming Korean superiority

over other Asians even though Koreans are technically Asians as well (M. Lee, 2008). Due to its discriminative connotation, governmental ministries changed the name to "*Onnurian*" (whole-world citizen in English translation)[5] but it has not been used much because of its arbitrariness. Instead, "the children of a multicultural family,"[6] first used by the Ministry of Education in 2006, is a more popular term, replacing 'Kosian.' This politics of naming is important because it indicates that the category of mixed-race is continuously (re)shaped and (re)defined over time, which points to its constructed-ness. Moreover, the contestation over the name of 'Kosian' shows how the mixed-race people have been perceived and framed in the popular/public discourses in Korea. Aware of those problems and discussions about the term, in the dissertation, I intentionally use the term 'Kosian' with quotation marks not only to designate the problematic (general) use of the term and its changes over time but also to point to the different racialization process paring with the term Amerasian. I know the term 'Kosian' may be not the best term to describe those newly growing populations of mixed-race people in Korea. However, I do think that the term has social and cultural currency even today, since the media still use it to address the issue of multiculturalism. Hence, based on this foundation, Chapter 2 will address the different racialization process between Amerasian and 'Kosian' more explicitly from the perspective of race-nation-media.

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[5] The term was selected at the contest proposed by the Jeollabukdo Office of Education to replace the term 'Kosian' due to its discriminatory meaning. Onnurian is a compound word between a Korean word "whole word" and "-ian." It is designed to designate people not only coming from Asia, but also from all over the world.

[6] Although the term "children of a multicultural family" is more "neutral" than Kosian, it is not without its limits. Because the term includes the word "children," it is not proper for naming (mixed-race) adults. (K. S. Jeon, Kim, Nam, & Park, 2008, p. 14).

1.4 METHODOLOGY

1.4.1 Methodological Framework: The Circuit Model Reconsidered

From Stuart Hall's model of "encoding/decoding" (1980) to Richard Johnson's "circuit model" (1986) to Paul du Gay and Stuart Hall's "circuit of culture" (1997), critical media/cultural studies scholars have developed models for analyzing a media/cultural text to emphasize its relational dynamics among different cultural modes (D'Acci, 2004, pp. 425-430). Among those models, the circuit of culture, proposed by du Gay and Hall, has been used in numerous studies because it provides a holistic analytical framework. Studying Sony's Walkman as a cultural artifact and analyzing it from the five modes of a cultural circuit – representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation – Du Gay and Hall (1997) argue that each of those cultural modes is not separable from the others but rather inter-related and inter-connected so that it is important to look at the dynamics/flows among those sites. In other words, we can study any cultural text from any cultural mode depending on what we are primarily looking at, but it should be in a relation to other instances in the circuit of culture. Although it is a useful analytical framework, it is not without limits and criticisms.

Assenting to the usefulness of the circuit model while holding a critical stance toward it, Julie D'Acci (2004), in her essay "Cultural Studies, Television Studies, and the Crisis in the Humanities," suggests a "circuit of media studies" model, modifying Du Gay and Hall's circuit of culture. Reducing five cultural sites to four – cultural artifact, production, consumption, and sociohistorical context – she argues that television studies analysis should be more research-question oriented and focused on sociohistorical context than generating model-oriented analysis. She explicates:

> The four-site model not only precisely points to seeing the conjuncture aspects of each individual site but also to seeing industries and their specific economic

> imperatives in relation to the other three areas; at the same time the model makes clear that cultural artifacts, reception, and sociohistorical context cannot truly be conceived or understood apart from the specific conditions of television production that are operative for the specific project in question (D'Acci, 2004, p. 434).

Considering the sites as convergences of discursive practices that mobilize conjunctures of economic, cultural, social, political, and historical discourses, D'Acci's circuit of media studies model provides much more contextualized analysis depending on researchers' perspective and genuine research questions.

Taking it one step further, Lawrence Grossberg argues that we should move away from these analytic models in cultural studies because cultural studies is an intervention into reality through a radically contextual study. As an alternative approach, Grossberg (2006, 2010) suggests "conjunctural analysis" as a way to do a more contextualized study of the articulations of lived, discursive and material contexts. He explains:

> A conjuncture is a description of a social formation as fractured and conflictual, along multiple axes, planes and scales, constantly in search of temporary balances or structural stabilities through a variety of practices and processes of struggle and negotiation. According to Hall (1988, p. 127), the concept of a conjuncture describes 'the complex historically specific terrain of a crisis which affects – but in uneven ways – a specific national-social formation as a whole'. It is not a slice of time or a period but a moment defined by an accumulation/condensation of contradictions, a fusion of different currents or circumstances (Grossberg, 2006, p. 4).

What is important in conjunctural analysis is to see how different and sometimes contradictory contexts and discourses are articulated at some point and produce a (social) logic that shapes a particular conjuncture of the time. As I have elaborated in the theoretical framework section above, Hall et al. (1978)'s analysis of '70s Thatcherism in the UK in a relation to neoliberal social changes through the specific social/cultural (con)text of "mugging" can be an exemplary case study for conjunctural analysis (Y. Cho, 2012). In other words, by leaving out blackness from Englishness, mugging is one

way to suture national anxiety towards blacks and project national desire towards a neoliberal Great Britain. In this process, Hall et al. (1978) effectively shows how blackness, Englishness, and Thatcherism are getting articulated as a way to sustain the social logic of the time.

In this context, whether one follows one of circuit models (e.g., Hall and du Guy's circuit of culture or D'Acci's circuit of media studies) or not (e.g., Grossberg), I argue that all of their arguments speak to each other in the sense that they all point to the importance of the idea of articulation, hegemony, and anti-essentialism, which are the core values that cultural studies has been built upon. To avoid totality and reductionism, Hall introduces the concept of articulation: "articulation is the form of the connection that *can* make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary, determined, absolute and essential for all time" (Grossberg, 1996, p. 141, emphasis in original). In other words, it is a logic or mechanism that links different concepts without essentializing one particular element. Slack (1996) also addresses that "articulation can be understood as a way of characterizing a social formation without falling into the twin traps of reductionism and essentialism" (p. 112).

This articulation of the conjunctures, as termed by Grossberg (2006, 2010) and D'Acci (2004), is the site where my research steps in and pays attention. My aim is *not* to mechanically apply the "models" to my research question as my methodology or framework; rather, it is to analyze and/or problematize the particular modes of articulation of cultural, political, economic, and historical conjunctures of neoliberal multiculturalism, which is a key aspect of the current transformation of Korean society.

1.4.2 Research Methods and Types of Analysis

Utilizing the concept of conjunctural analysis, my dissertation examines the social production of a (new) Korean national identity in the contemporary televisual landscape under neoliberal market forces and statist multiculturalism. My aim is to explain the transformation from a modern monoracial Korea to a multicultural, global Korea as a national project of what I call neoliberal multiculturalism and to analyze/problematize the implicit tie between the two words, "neoliberal" and "multiculturalism." The theory of articulation and conjunctures helps to shape my argument on racial politics and the struggle for Korean national identity in contemporary Korean popular culture. My dissertation questions particular instances of neoliberal multiculturalism that articulate different contexts and discourses at once to produce a social (hegemonic) status quo and to suture national anxiety towards the increasing number of immigrants.

To illustrate my research methods in a practical way, I categorize my analysis into three parts and explain how I gathered sources/materials and how I analyzed them. The first part is *a historical and institutional analysis* to map the transformation from a modern monoracial Korea (1960s-1980s) to a multiracial Korea (1990s-present) (Chapter 2). Building upon secondary resources such as historical documents of broadcasting acts, governmental policies on mixed-race groups, and newspaper archives as well as academic works, I not only aim to contextualize the transformation but also to (re)narrate and (re)write the Korean broadcasting history from the perspective of race-nation-media, which has not yet been attempted in Korean media studies scholarship.

To map this sociohistorical transformation, archival research is one of the crucial methods to enhance the project. I use several databases and archives for studying media discourse on mixed-race people and celebrities. For newspaper articles, I primarily use the comprehensive newspaper database of Korea, KINDS (http://www.kinds.or.kr/). The

database covers not only a variety of contemporary newspapers but also a wide range of periods from early modern newspapers in the 1900s to the present. I specifically focus on the articles produced by nationwide daily newspapers such as *Hankyoreh, ChoSun, DongA, JungAng, GyeongHyang, MunHwa, Seoul, NaeIl, Korea, SeGye, Asia Today, Korea,* and *GungMin*. Among them, *ChoSun, DongA, JungAng,* and *Hankyoreh* are the most popular and influential nationwide daily newspapers in Korea. For the articles from 1960 to 1989, I use the search engine, Naver News Library (http://newslibrary.naver.com/search/searchByDate.nhn#), as it provides news articles from *GyeongHyang* and *DongA*, the only two newspapers accessible online from 1960 to 1989.

Along with newspapers, televisual media texts are also crucial to examine racial representation and racial formation. Fortunately I was able to access the Korean audio-visual programming database from Broadcasting Media (http://www.fbc.or.kr/pds/ppds_list.html). This database provides television programming schedules and content produced by the three main television networks in Korea, MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation), KBS (Korean Broadcasting System), and SBS (Seoul Broadcasting System) from 1962 to the early 2000s. However, since the online sources provide limited access, whether it is a newspaper archive or media archive, this project also required a fieldwork research trip. Hence, I visited the Library of Congress, one of the largest libraries where governmental documentaries and historical documents are archived, during my field trip to Korea to complement the online sources.

The second part is *a media discourse analysis* of the two most recognized mixed-race celebrities – Hines Ward, a black mixed-race athlete, and Daniel Henney, a white mixed-race actor – in the context of commercialization and globalization of the Korean media (Chapter 3 and 4). Reading the televisual images of those two emblematic mixed-

race celebrities as cultural texts, I explore how the cultural meanings of mixed-race have been changed and contested in the commercial arena of Korean television. For analysis, I searched newspaper articles regarding those two celebrities as well as television programs that they were on and analyze how the discourse around them constructs racialized, gendered, and classed social order. Together with media discourse analysis, I also conduct a close reading of television shows, television commercials, and visual images of them to complicate the cultural articulation of whiteness as well as blackness in contemporary Korean popular culture. In addition, while focusing on the national fever over both the Ward moment and the Henney moment, I also pay attention to which (media industrial) forces made this cultural phenomenon possible. Moreover, in order not to isolate their image analysis from its reception and production modes, I consider how general Korean audiences have participated in creating the discursive space (such as online forums) for discussing Koreanness.

The third analytical part is *a textual analysis* of visual representations of multicultural subjects in reality television, as there has been no 'Kosian' celebrity who has been celebrated as much as the two Amerasian celebrities, Ward and Henney. I explore how a television genre that pursues "reality" shapes multicultural issues and produces the discourse of the Korean Dream (Chapter 5). I particularly examine how the "reality craze" in current Korean television programming speculates racial bodies in a relation to its production and reception. Specifically, I analyze two programs as case studies: *Love in Asia* (KBS-1, 2005-present), a representative multicultural show that utilizes the reality-documentary genre and has been aired on a public broadcasting channel, and the reality-audition program *The Great Birth* (MBC, 2010-present), aired on a commercial channel. I contextualize the rise of reality programs from the perspective of industrial changes in Korean media and rearticulate the rise of racial representations on

reality programs from the perspective of the neoliberal economic turn and neoliberal ethics. For analysis, I select several episodes from each program for close-reading; I also search for newspaper articles about those two shows and their individual characters for media discourse analysis. The details about each show and analyzed episodes will be introduced at length later in the chapter.

1.5 Chapter Breakdown

Chapter 2 maps the transformation in the discursive practice of imagining Korea – from modern and monoracial to multicultural and global. I utilize the race-nation-media nexus that I have elaborated in the theoretical framework section to explain this shift. In particular, Chapter 2 examines the early history of Korean media to see how the state appropriates the media to make an ideologically strong and racially homogenous nation. This chapter explicates the statist ideology of a modern monoracial Korea and how the state utilizes media to perpetuate the myth of a racially homogenous nation. Drawing from newspaper articles, television programs, governmental policies, and statist propaganda, I demonstrate that the state erased and repressed the existence of mixed-race as a social category in Korea. In this way, the chapter examines why there was almost a lack of representation of racial others, including mixed-race, in Korean television during the modern period from the early 1960s to the late 1980s.

However, as globalization has become more and more prevent and the neoliberal economic restructuring has taken place since the mid-1990s, Korea has had to reconfigure its national image. The multiculturalism policy emerged and was discussed at a national level to regulate/govern the increasing foreign population as well as new types of Koreans, such as ‘Kosians’ and multicultural families. To imagine Korea as a

multicultural, global nation, Korean television utilizes racial representations, which have also significantly increased. Contextualizing those social, cultural, and historical changes from the perspective of media industrial changes and governmental policies, Chapter 2 foregrounds the struggle for Koreanness in contemporary Korean television in the era of neoliberalism and multiculturalism.

Chapter 3 investigates Hines Ward as a key mixed-race media figure who ignited the multiculturalism explosion in Korea. I read his visit to Korea as a "media event" and examine how, in what context and discursive articulation, it created the multiculturalism explosion in Korean society in 2006. Considering that he is a black Amerasian, a group whose existence had been hugely neglected and oppressed in the past, I argue that the discursive articulation between his Amerasian background and the current multicultural discussion became the cultural site of a "multicultural battle" (multiculturalism as a leading articulator of the moment), where the struggle for Koreanness in relation to Korea's racist past took place. Engaging this event within the historical context of a modern monoracial Korea and the struggle for a global Korea today, the chapter argues that the Korean commercial media's hype about Ward successfully masks Korea's racist past towards Amerasians and provides a successful role model for a growing number of 'Kosians' – a new type of mixed-race category that has emerged due to current inter-Asian migration.

Moreover, through analyzing the particular mode of articulation of his blackness, Koreanness, Americanness, and global success as a male sports celebrity, Chapter 3 examines how the Ward moment encapsulates the Korean media and state's appropriation of Ward as a way to project the national desire to be global and multicultural. I explain the particular way his (half) Koreanness by blood tie is utilized in shaping the Hines Ward moment and argue that this blood metaphor – what I call the "Korean one drop

rule" – works as a logic of inclusion and exclusion for mixed-race people. That is, even one drop of Korean blood is enough to be Korean as long as one remains faithful and brings global fame/success to Korea.

Chapter 4, where I discuss a white Amerasian actor and celebrity Daniel Henney, brings an interesting counterpoint to Ward's case. As primarily articulated with discourses of transnational mobility, cosmopolitan whiteness, and the Korean Wave (*hallyu*, 한류), media discourse around Henney is disconnected from Korea's racist past in a significant way. Contextualizing the rise of white mixed-race celebrities and foreign entertainers from the perspective of the globalization of Korean popular culture, I argue that Korean television appropriates Henney's whiteness as a marker of global Koreanness. Moreover, the "whitening" of the Korean Wave either through casting celebrities from the West or through making the Korean popular culture more (white-) Western-looking (in)directly made Henney's sudden success in Korea possible.

Reading his ambivalent racial identity, I intend to show how his mixed-race identity is read differently in different contexts in both Asia and America. Not only his racial identity, but also his hybrid national identity as a Korean-American who is going back and forth between Korea (and East Asia) and Hollywood complicates the discussion of (global) Koreanness contested at the site of Henney's white body. His image as high-class, intelligent (for he speaks fluent English), and cosmopolitan constructs what whiteness means to Koreans. I insist that his whiteness is not a mere marker of his race, but it indexes many other categories such as (trans)nationality, beauty, gender, and class through intersecting all of them. Hence, just like Ward's case, Henney's whiteness is an unstable category articulating different dimensions at the same time. However, it is the neoliberal impulse and market logic that smooth the ruptures and make the category look stable.

While Chapters 3 and 4 examine the multicultural and neoliberal battle through the symbolic cases of Amerasian celebrities Hines Ward and Daniel Henney, Chapter 5 studies those battles in reality television through the cases of multicultural subjects. What becomes important is that there has been no symbolic 'Kosian' figure/celebrity who is comparable to either Ward or Henney, which demonstrates that 'Kosians' are not desirable/sellable enough to be celebrated in the eyes of the Korean media. In other words, while Ward and Henney's Americanness and success were seen as palatable, 'Kosians,' whose fathers/mothers mostly come from economically less developed countries in Asia, have not been praised in the Korean media. For this reason, other multicultural subjects, including 'Kosians,' female marriage migrants, multicultural families, and Korean-Chinese, have emerged and been elevated as recognizable figures in the realm of reality television. Hence, Chapter 5 analyzes two different reality programs – one is an explicitly multicultural show, *Love in Asia*, and the other is a reality-survival-audition program, *The Great Birth* – and examines how those shows frame racial issues and construct Koreanness. These examples indicate a different struggle and racialization process compared to Amerasians.

I argue that multicultural battle is a leading force that drives the logic of the multicultural show *Love in Asia*, given that the show is driven by the statist aspiration to be multicultural and has a close tie with governmental multicultural policies. The show particularly showcases Asian female marriage migrants and their multicultural families in a multiculturalist way and represent them as "kind and faithful Koreans" by showing them sincerely practicing Korean customs and culture. In comparison to *Love in Asia*, *The Great Birth*, which is not a multicultural show, utilizes the global popularity of K-pop (Korean popular music; hereafter, K-pop) for the format of a reality-survival-audition program. To present the show more globally, the program recruits some participants from

abroad, which increases the racial visibility within the show. Although the show, as a commercial survival program, does not have a strong affiliation with multiculturalism, what makes the show worthwhile to analyze is that the final winner of the first season was Korean-Chinese, another crucial multicultural subject in Korea. Through analyzing the show in the context of the neoliberalization of the Korean media industry and neoliberal impulse in the genre of reality-audition program, I examine how the show dramatizes the win of an ordinary Korean-Chinese boy and fantasizes the Korean Dream for multicultural subjects. Throughout the chapter, I argue that ethnic nationalism has successfully transformed its modality under the battle of multiculturalism and neoliberalism by locating Asian populations as internalized others of Korea's national imagery.

Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the analysis by exploring the theoretical implications of my research for both Korean media and race and multiculturalism studies.

Chapter 2. The Transformation of an Imagined Korean National Identity: From a Monoracial Korea to a Multicultural, Global Korea

Chapter 2 illuminates the historical, cultural, and institutional transformation from a modern monocultural/monoracial Korea (1960s-1980s) to a contemporary multicultural/multiracial Korea (1990s-present) from the matrix of race-nation-media. The articulation of those three concepts is key to understanding the transformation because what matters is a mode of discursive articulation that shapes a certain type of representational mode of national identities – such as monoracial Korea and multicultural Korea – through a particular form of ideological apparatus, including state and media, at a particular time of Korean history. In other words, the shift is not just a matter of the changes in racial categories only (race), nor in state policy only (nation), and nor in media system only (media), but rather the changes in all of them shaped by the articulation of those three concepts.

One important point to be addressed here is that this transformation is more of a *cultural, discursive shift* in people's general understanding of what the Korean nation should be than a *social, demographical change* in racial minorities in Korea. In other words, I am not at all arguing that Korea has now become a multicultural nation or that is it no longer a monoracial country based on some demographical statistics that demonstrate the new level of racial diversity in Korea compared to the past. Rather, the transformation that I am illuminating in this chapter is a matter of ideological construction of a certain type of "imagined Korean nationhood" at a certain period of time in Korea. Hence, I am not arguing that strong Korean (ethnic) nationalism has disappeared based on the fact that we are now facing a new phase of multiculturalism; in fact, I am insisting that ethnic nationalism matters all the more, and this is what I intend to examine throughout the dissertation. Given that the shift is in how the Korean nation is

imagined and how national identity is represented, in this chapter, I will examine the socio-cultural conditions in modern and contemporary Korea from the perspective of race-nation-media.

The fact that the Korean media system has changed from a strong statist apparatus to an increasingly liberalized and commercialized one is crucial to understanding the discursive and ideological shift from a presumed monoracial modern Korea to a contemporary multicultural Korea. This characteristic of the Korean media has played an important role in shaping ideological construction of monoracial and/or multicultural national identity since the media is a primary ideological apparatus. As the primary goal in modern Korea was to develop and modernize the nation, the government dominated the broadcasting system and exercised its power to effectively govern the nation. The earnest passion for the modernization project led to the development of a national culture and national spirit that eliminated cultural diversity and freedom of expression. Coupled with statist racism to maintain racial purity in modern Korea, the state-driven media system from the 1960s through the 1980s was an engine for developing the nation as well as one national identity.

In contrast, starting from the late 1980s and the early 1990s, the Korean media experienced democratization, liberalization, and commercialization, which resulted in the era of multichannel and multimedia outlets. Although it does not mean that the Korean media became a completely market-driven system, economic neoliberalism has led the Korean media to become more liberalized and globalized. The new national (media) project, such as the Korean Wave, has changed the ways in which Korea is imagined in the era of globalization today. This structural change in media conditions, coupled with the shift in racial relations, provides a foundation to discuss how national identity has been reconfigured and contested in contemporary commercial Korean television.

It is in this context that the discursive shift among mixed-race groups from Amerasian to 'Kosian' needs to be highlighted which illuminates how the characteristics of state racism have changed throughout Korean history. This change of (major) targeted group encapsulates racial relations in both modern monoracial Korea and contemporary multicultural, global Korea. While the increasing number of Amerasians (mostly white mixed-race and black mixed-race) indicates the presence of the US army and uneven power relations between the US and Korea after the Korean War, the rise of 'Kosians' today represents global migration and the neoliberal economic turn after the economic crisis in 1997. This contrast also shows the changed status of the Korean national imagery in the global context: the term Amerasians signifies the incompetency of the Korean nation because it connotes Korea's military subordination to the US, whereas 'Kosians' indicates Korea's economic superiority to near Asian countries.

Therefore, to examine this shift in how the Korean nation-state is imagined in a more nuanced manner, I distinguish modern monoracial Korea (1960s-1980s) from contemporary multicultural Korea (1990s-present) and discuss social, cultural, and institutional forces that have brought about the ideological construction of each phase of national identity throughout the chapter. The chapter consists of two main sections: 2.1 explains how the national identity of a modern monoracial Korea is constructed through the work of ideological apparatuses of propagandistic state and media, and 2.2 traces the discursive and ideological shift into the contemporary multicultural global Korea. In each section, the matrix of race-nation-media will be a central perspective to narrate the ideological construction of national identity and its transformation. To effectively delineate the nation-building project in both modern and contemporary Korea through the perspective of race-nation-media, each section will have three structurally homologous subsections: (1) a brief historical outline contextualizing racial others, especially in the

case of mixed-race people, along with their relation to the governmental policies of the time, (2) an overview of Korean broadcasting history with an emphasis on how the Korean government utilized television and how other socio-cultural changes and factors have influenced the characteristics of Korean media, and (3) an illustration of how mixed-race entertainers and ordinary people were represented in the popular cultural arena and the cultural politics of the time. Based on this structure, Chapter 2 sets the groundwork for the rest of the chapters that discuss the multicultural explosion and the changed meaning of the mixed-race category in contemporary Korean television and popular culture.

2.1 "One People, One Nation": (De)constructing Monocultural/monoracial National Identity in Modern Korea (1961-1987)

This section aims to look at the construction of a monocultural national identity as well as a strong nation-sate in modern Korean history from 1961, when the military dictatorship first started, to 1987, when it ended following the civil democratization movement. In particular, it examines how the Korean television as an (ideological) institution, together with authoritarian governmental policies, produced the ideology of strong nationalism during that era. By closely looking at the socio-historical context and institutional and cultural conditions of modern day Korea, I attempt to deconstruct the myth of a monoracial Korea. I argue that a monoracial Korea, as a strong national identity, is an ideological construction produced through the collusion between the authoritarian state and the propagandistic broadcasting system from the 1960s through the 1980s.

2.1.1 Gendered Nation-State and Ethnic Nationalism in Modern Korea: Amerasian as a Marker of State Racism

As noted above, the term monoracial Korea does not necessarily refer to a social fact, but rather implies a hegemonic understanding of a modern Korea. It is well demonstrated by the fact that different types of racial minorities, such as Korean-Chinese, ethnic-Chinese, and mixed-race people, did exist during the period of a modern monoracial Korea, but were hugely underrepresented because of the strong ethnic nationalism of the time. That being said, these racial minorities had to undergo severe discrimination against "full-blood" Koreans under the strong monoracial ideology due to their racial/ethnic otherness.

One extreme example that demonstrates how strong ethnic nationalism in modern Korea played out would be the history of ethnic-Chinese in Korea. It is well known that ethnic-Chinese have built one of the most powerful and largest diasporic communities around the world, given the fact that "Chinatowns" are everywhere in the metropolitan cities around the world. Some ethnic-Chinese had also migrated to Korea around the 1880s, but Korea is the only country where ethnic-Chinese were not able to build and continue their diasporaic communities due to Korea's strong ethnocentrism. For instance, a lot of ethnic-Chinese capital flowed into Korea when they first migrated to the country. However, the government put many restrictions and penalties on this flow of ethnic-Chinese capital into the Korean nation because the government was afraid of the nation becoming ethnically "impure" (see Eom, 2011, p. 140). One effective way to block their migration to Korea was to restrict their economic activities in Korea. Restricted by the Korean government, ethnic-Chinese found living in Korea difficult. Thus, the number of ethnic-Chinese communities gradually diminished after 1972, and their presence has almost dissipated in the present day (Eom, 2011).

In addition to the ethnic-Chinese case, mixed-race people are particularly crucial for understanding how the monoracial ideology and strong ethnic nationalism played out in modern Korea. Even though they are Koreans, they were considered "second-class Koreans" or "non-Koreans" due to their racial "impurity." Also named Amerasians, mixed-race people of the time encapsulated gender politics in modern Korea (H.-S. Kim, 1998; T. Lim, 2009; K. Moon, 1998). As a historically specific term that speaks to the presence of the US army in Asia during World War Two and the Cold War, the term Amerasian commonly refers to the mixed-race children who were born to American fathers and Asian mothers. Hence, many Amerasians in modern Korea were born to an American (soldier) father and a Korean mother. The Korean women who married American soldiers were seen as "prostitutes" (regardless of the actual fact), and this social stigma reinforced the nature of the gendered nation-state in modern Korea (H.-S. Kim, 1998). The social stigma given to these Korean women was even harsher because it was (symbolically) understood that they married "other men (other nations)" disregarding "our (Korean) men (our nation)," which had lowered the masculine national pride of Korea (B. Park, 2010). Furthermore, this masculine national pride was once more trampled on because it used to be thought that the Korean (masculine) nation was not powerful enough to protect its females from other males (Americans).

Seen from the perspective of these gendered national allegories, it can be argued that mixed-race people in modern monoracial Korea embodied Korea's subordination to the US army after the Korean War as well as its racist past. It was after the Korean War in 1950 that the mixed-race people were first recognized as a "social problem" because the number of mixed-race children drastically increased after the War (A. R. Kim, 2009). According to the statistics, the number of mixed-race people had been growing until the 1960s because of the installation of camp towns and the rise of the prostitution industry in

the camp town district. Since then, mixed-race people have been excluded from the national imagery through institutional practices and treated as non-national. In addition, the Korean media of the modern period never emphasized the mixed-race issue because it was against the interests of the period's authoritarian regimes, which tried hard to unite the nation.

The first governmental policy toward mixed-race people was to conceal their existence and to minimize any potential social problems they might cause. Hence, the first president Rhee Seung Man was very positive about sending mixed-race children to the "father's country," America, to avoid the mixed-race problem and to secure national ethnic purity. Due to this adoption policy, many Amerasian children were sent to American adoption agencies and adopted by American families.

Other than sending mixed-race children to their "father's country," the government practiced various policies to maintain a monoracial national identity. One obvious example is the Nationality Act. The Korean Nationality Act, enacted in 1946, only took the patrilineal descent as determining citizenship in the Korean nation, which means the act systematically excluded mixed-race children who had a Korean mother (B. Park, 2010, p. 12). To obtain Korean nationality, the mixed-race children with a Korean mother had to be adopted by their maternal family to be officially registered as a family member. However, this process was not easy at all. Thus, many of them remained unregistered, which resulted in their total exclusion and deprivation of legal rights as a human being, a "homo sacer" (Agamben, 1998). According to Agamben (1998), homo sacer (sacred life) refers to "a life that cannot be sacrificed and yet may be killed" (p. 82). In other words, they are human beings but are not considered political subjects within the society so that their life or death is not secured by the sovereign power. I would argue that mixed-race people in modern monoracial Korea symbolize the homo sacer in the

sense that their existence had to be erased or rejected by state law, and the state violence towards them was justified since they were not considered a (political) citizen (see M. Lee, 2008, pp. 72-73).

In addition to the racist practices of the Nationality Act, it is also important to note that the act was gendered as well in that it reinforced the household registration law (*hojuje*) by granting Korean nationality only to the patrilineal descent. In other words, the law enforced the notion that the head of the family always has to be a male, which demonstrates that the social structure was maintained and reproduced through the patriarchal system. Furthermore, as shown in the household registration law and the Nationality Act, it was believed that the nation's racial purity was maintainable only through the males' bloodline because, until 1998, citizenship was only transmittable through the father. Hence, it is not surprising that many Amerasians in modern Korea remained fatherless not only physically but also legally. Although the Korean government amended the Nationality Act and allowed the Korean mother of mixed-race children to register her children by herself, she has to leave the father's column blank. This means that the children are now legally recognized as Korean but are still stigmatized as foreigners by leaving the father section blank in the family register (Durebang, 2003).

Taking it one step further, the fact the mixed-race male was not allowed to serve in the Korean army also demonstrates the influence of the masculine nation-state and a total exclusion of mixed-race people from the modern national project. For all Korean males, it is mandatory to serve in the military for two years because Korea is still in the ceasefire stage between the North and the South. Hence, defending the nation through serving in the military has always been a crucial matter of national security since the Korean War. However, the Korean government excluded mixed-race males from the

draft, even in the case where they are legally Korean, because of their racial otherness. It was under the Park Jung Hee regime that mixed-race males were excluded from the draft (1972). It is important to note that while the primary goal of the Park regime was to build a strong nation-state, it is exactly due to this national anxiety that the mixed-race males were banned from joining the military as they were seen as non-national. Put differently, state law prevented mixed-race males from serving as members of the Korean nation, and reinforced the monoracial ethnic nationalism by emasculating them. In short, mixed-race people in modern Korea embody a total exclusion from the national imagery and symbolize state racism in that they were treated as non-existent and deprived of their political as well as human rights (Agamben, 1998; Goldberg, 2002).

2.1.2 Installing National Television and Developing a Strong Statist Media Apparatus: Media/Cultural Policy and the Development of Korean Nationalism

Given this historical background about racial others in modern Korea, it is crucial to examine how the Korean media have played an essential role in constructing the notion of a modern monoracial Korea, since building such a state would have been impossible without utilizing the media apparatus. Simply put, modern Korean broadcasting was an essential propagandistic tool for uniting the nation and building a strong modern nation-state. This characteristic is best exemplified by the fact that the Korean broadcasting institution had a close relationship with political power and was subjected to change upon political regime change (H.-J. Cho & Park, 2011; Kang, 2007). In other words, the modern Korean media functioned as a powerful Ideological State Apparatus (ISA), in Althusser's (1971) terminology, that forged strong nationalism as well as monoracial/monocultural national identity. Hence, in this section, I attempt to explicate

the installation of a statist media system in modern Korea and its close relation to the nation-building project, which in turn brought about strong ethnic nationalism.

Television as a Symbol of the Modernization Project – The 1960s

Many examples in history demonstrate that there is a strong correlation between national development and media technology. Especially in the Third World countries, where the modernization project was a primary national goal after colonialism along with both international and civil wars, the government aimed to develop a strong statist media complex as a way to modernize the nation. Many developing countries installed a statist broadcasting system to unify national identity. For instance, India used satellite television for national industrialization and the modernization project (Kumar, 2006). The national project was a government-centered, top-down model to renew Indian rural areas by using television as a tool to communicate nationwide. Likewise, when examining Korean broadcasting history, it becomes more obvious that media have been a strong apparatus that propels national development and national unification. More importantly, television, as an engine for the modernization project in particular, played a crucial role in uniting the nation through formulating the idea of "one people, one nation" and, at the same time, marginalizing and excluding various types of (non-national) "others," such as mixed-race individuals and communists.

Even though the first Korean television broadcasting started in 1956 as a commercial television network HLKZ-TV, many Korean television history scholars agree that regular Korean television broadcasting first started with the establishment of the state broadcasting system, KBS, in 1961. (H.-J. Cho & Park, 2011; J. M. Han, 2011b; J. Lim, 2004, 2011). It is worthwhile to note that 1961 is also the year when Park Jung Hee caused a coup and became the fifth President of Korea. Since it was a coup, Park's

regime tried hard to gain political legitimacy, so he initiated many efforts to develop the nation and quickly launched a modernization project to boost the Korean economy (J. Lim, 2004, 2007; S. M. Park, 2010). As an initial effort, Park's regime paid careful attention to the media. He founded the supreme council on media policy in 1962 to nurture the media industry as a way to modernize the nation.

Park Jung Hee's media policy was to install television nationwide. It was seen as one aspect of the modernization project as well because it first required other social infrastructure, such as electricity and media technology. Since it was a national project, the state sponsored television sets at a cheap price so that even rural areas could enjoy television and electricity. According to the statistics, the distribution rate of the television set increased from 10,500 in 1966 to 120,868 in 1970, which indicates about a 12-fold increase over only 4 years (H.-J. Cho & Park, 2011, p. 57); thus, by the end of the 1970s, almost all households in the nation could have a television set in-home. For this reason, television was seen as a "Christmas present from the coup government" (J. Lim, 2004).

Given that the state broadcasting system (KBS in 1961) as well as the corporate broadcasting system (TBC in 1964 and MBC in 1969) were consecutively established in the 1960s, this decade initiated the "television boom" even if it was not yet flourishing (J. Lim, 2004). Although television was introduced and installed nationally in the 1960s, the television culture and television programs had not yet (fully) developed because television networks lacked production skills, labor, and resourses. Hence, the networks' programming was heavily dependent on foreign programs, importing them from abroad. US television programs and movies, such as *I Love Lucy, 0011 Napoleon Solo, Iron Side, The Donna Reed Show,* and *Bonanza* were particularly popular among Korean audiences (I. S. Jung & Jang, 2000).

On the other hand, the Korean television networks also produced some of their own programs. One of the most notable television genres of the time was the "purpose-driven genre" which is a particular dramatic genre that incorporates anti-communist narratives into the plot in order to propagate anti-communist ideology. For example, *True Story Theatre* (KBS, 1964-1985), one of the all-time most popular television program from the 1960s to the 1980s, was a television drama that featured anti-communism themes. The episodes were based on true stories and added some fictional elements to dramatize anti-communist ideology. For instance, one episode, titled "The North Korean Communists Party in Japan," was based on the assassination of the First Lady, the wife of Park Jung Hee, which had actually happened in 1974. The sniper was a member of The North Korean Communist Party in Japan. Based on this true story, the program successfully educated Korean audiences about anti-communism and increased national hostility towards the communist party in Japan. As exemplified, the purpose-driven genre is a unique television genre in Korea in that it weaves state's anti-communism propaganda into the human drama. This propagandistic character of Korean broadcasting became even bolder in the 1970s.

Enriching Television as a Strong Statist Apparatus – The 1970s

While the 1960s initiated the television era with Park's authoritarian regime, it wasn't until the 1970s that Park's modernization project was (fully) achieved. To extend his political power, Park Jung Hee declared a state of emergency and issued a "Restoration Constitution" in October 1972. By amending the Constitution, the government issued legal articles and restrictions to maintain power, regulating the Korean citizens and oppressing the resistance. The first and foremost national goal of Park's reformation was to accomplish the modernization project and advance the nation

economically. His effort to reform the nation can be best exemplified by the nationwide development campaign, the New Village movement, started in 1973. Heavily influenced by the Japanese postwar restoration campaign, the New Life movement, the New Village movement was a total mobilization of the Korean nation toward national development, with an emphasis on the traditional Korean ethic of frugality and cooperation (S. M. Park, 2010).

Moreover, the Park government viewed culture as one of the effective elements for mobilizing Korean citizens. Thus, the government established the Ministry of Culture and Public Information (*munhwa kongbobu*) and set up the Korean Culture and Arts Foundation (hereafter, KCAF; the name changed in 2005 to Arts Council Korea) in October 1973 and used this institute to foster Korean national culture. In addition, he also initiated the First Five-Year Plan for the Revival of Culture and Arts (1974-1978). According to S. M. Park (2010), "this plan aimed at achieving the long-term goals of developing programs for the (1) promotion of national studies, (2) propagation of culture to the populace, and (3) introduction of Korean culture overseas" (p. 74). Simply put, culture was utilized as a tool to mobilize people to embody and practice the ideology of the New Village movement, or the modernization project. This state-driven cultural policy, together with the statist media apparatus, successfully marginalized and excluded different types of "others," such as mixed-race people, who were perceived of as threatening to national culture as well as national identity.

Besides establishing the KCAF, the Park regime also infiltrated the media, including the press and the broadcasting systems. In 1973, the government amended the Broadcasting Act and transformed a once autonomous agency, the Broadcasting Ethics Committee, into a legal agency, which brought the broadcasting system perfectly under government's control. Driven by the Restoration Constitution, Emergency Measures 1

and 2 were issued, which specifically targeted the media system to restrict the freedom of the press (Kang, 2007). The suppression of the press became even harsher and stricter once resistance to the amendment was offered. In 1974, the government released Emergency Measure No. 9, which banned any form of criticism towards the government; therefore, freedom of speech was greatly restricted, and the broadcasting networks only aired programs in favor of the Restoration government (Kang, 2007).

The severe and oppressive governmental regulation of media content was at its peak during the restoration period. One of the most important changes in the 1970s in terms of structural reform in the broadcasting system was transferring KBS from the state broadcasting model to the public broadcasting model. On the surface, by changing the title to "public" broadcasting, KBS enlarged its broadcasting size, increased its organizational efficiency, and upheld a persuasive cause for the national audiences. However, beneath this ostensible reform, it aimed to effectively regulate the broadcasting system in the government's interest and to increase governmental impact on the broadcasting system (J. Lim, 2011). In other words, the transformation was coming from "outside" via governmental power, not from "inside" the broadcasting system. Thus, governmental control and regulation became even more direct and oppressive than in the 1960s, but ironically, the organization of the broadcasting system expanded significantly in the 1970s (KBA, 1997; KBS, 2011).

The governmental regulation or interference was not only restricted to this structural reform, but it also expanded to programming and content. In particular, the government announced its programming guidelines and program format guidelines starting in 1976 (see I. S. Jung & Jang, 2000, p. 115). For instance, the government required all broadcasting stations to air a 20-minute-program – from 8p.m. to 8:20p.m. – to improve public relations and to reinforce the statist social agendas, such as anti-

communism, the New Village Movement, national security, and youth guidance (KBA, 1997).

To effectively mobilize the whole nation for the modernization project, the government established a "New Village Movement Broadcasting Headquarters" in every village, including the rural areas, in 1972. This broadcasting headquarters set up New Village TV (a standardized TV set) in the rural areas as well as in cities and established the national broadcasting distribution system. Through this initiative, Park successfully installed a nationwide communication infrastructure that could effectively govern and mobilize the whole nation. Given that, it is said that the installing the television nationwide was one of the greatest achievements of Park's cultural policy of the time (J. Lim, 2004, p. 88)

The 1970s were truly the "television boom era" (I. S. Jung & Jang, 2000; Y. H. Jung, 2005). The daily soap opera developed in full and was the most popular television genre of the time. The most popular dramas of the time. such as *Madam*, *Journey*, hit over 80% ratings nationwide. Overriding the popularity of the daily dramas of the time, the network produced so-called "national historical drama" (*minjok-sagwangeuk*). It was a particular genre that borrowed from the daily drama format and re-narrated national history as well as introducing the successful life stories of ancestors who overcame hardship (J. Lim, 2007). Not only television programs, but also movie directors and writers produced pro-government artworks:

> South Korean film industry specialists and top producers also agreed to make movies supportive of the New Village movement. These movies would educate people to change their daily routines and cultivate a spirit of frugality and diligence. […] Through newspapers, television, fiction, photographs, and film, South Koreans were inundated with a cultural campaign urging them to become useful members of society. The foundation laid by the dramatic cultural policies

> of the Park government continued to play a large role in providing support for the political objectives of ensuing regimes (S. M. Park, 2010, p. 82).

In terms of programming, since the Park regime was eager to construct national culture and national spirit in the 1970s, imported foreign programs were gradually reduced over this period, and the state strictly prohibited "foreign-originating" (*oerae*) forces such as "vulgar commercialism" (S. M. Park, 2010, p. 77). On the same note, to foster a united national identity, Park's regime, working hand in hand with the broadcasting system, regulated the popular or folk culture: hippies were banned from being on air upon Park's direct instruction (1971), and three television networks agreed to refuse to air celebrities/entertainers with long-hair as it symbolizes the rock-and-roll spirit and resistance to the government (1975) (see KBA, 1997, pp. 514-515). Overall, broadcasting media in the 1970s was an engine for Park's modernization project. Television, in particular, was seen as a machine that combines economic development with anti-communism and strong nationalism (J. Lim, 2011, p. 117). Simply put, television in the 1970s was an ideal type of medium for modernizing the nation.

Media Consolidation and 3S Cultural Policy – The 1980s

Park's regime ended abruptly after he was assassinated in 1979. Succeeding Park's military government, Chun Doo Hwan took power by force. The nature of the statist media system was not changed at all in the 1980s as the authoritarian militant regime continued. One of the first tasks that Chun's regime conducted was renewing the previous regime's media policy by enacting the Prime Press Law (1980). The very essence of the Law is to forge a state-controlled monopoly broadcasting system, also known as "media consolidation" (S. D. Kim, 1996; S.-C. Lee & Joe, 2000). As a consequence of this media consolidation, the commercial broadcasting networks such as

TBC (Tongyang Broadcasting Company) (radio AM/FM and television), DBS (radio), and Daegoo (radio FM) were integrated into the KBS. In the process of merging TBC (commercial network) into the KBS, the existing KBS became KBS-1 (a more public-oriented channel) and TBC became KBS-2 (a more commercial-oriented channel). In addition, 70% of the shares in MBC (another commercial network of the time) were transferred to KBS. In other words, through the vertical and horizontal integration amongst different broadcasting networks, almost every broadcasting network was incorporated under the umbrella of KBS, completing the transition to the public broadcasting system as a whole. In other words, a "duopoly" between the two public broadcasting systems, KBS and MBC, was set up.

Under the state control, the broadcasting content was used to reinforce the political legitimacy of Chun's regime. As Park did with black-and-white television in the 1960s, Chun introduced color television for people's amusement to turn their attention from politics to entertainment and leisure. The best known cultural policy of the 1980s is 3S policy, which utilizes Sex, Sports, and Screen as a way to produce an ignorant and apolitical public (Joo, 2012; S. M. Park, 2010). It is no coincidence that professional baseball began in 1982, and professional Korean traditional wrestling and soccer started in 1983. By launching these professional sports teams, sports became a televised entertainment since the matches were aired on the national television channel. In other words, it was the moment that sport, as a televised entertainment, became a national public culture (Joo, 2012). In so doing, it is obvious that Chun's 3S policy functioned as an obscurantist policy to quell people's resistance towards the regime by diverting their attention to entertainment.

Adding to 3S policy, the national televisual events, such as the North-South Korea Family Reunion in 1983, the Seoul Asian Game in 1986, and the Olympics in 1988, were

produced as a "media event" to mobilize the nation as an advanced society and unify the national identity. In particular, the North-South Korea Family Reunion was aired over 136 days, totaling 435 hours and 45 minutes of coverage, which hit the world record for its running time as a single television program (J. Lim, 2011). Moreover, through experiencing global sport events, such as the Seoul Asian Game and the Olympics, Korea caught the global gaze/attention for the first time:

> The incredible national mobilization for the games and the intensive media coverage demonstrated the perceived importance of such global mega-events to national identity by the state as well as the mass participation of the citizenry in shaping this image (Joo, 2012, p. 50).

Through experiencing those national media events, Korean broadcasting was able to be equipped with more advanced media technology. Put differently, although the state monopolized and centralized media system through media consolidation in the 1980s, it, simultaneously increased the size of the broadcasting industry and that of media content; in addition, broadcasting technology and skills were upgraded through national televisual events.

2.1.3 Racial Representation in Popular Culture

As explained above, under the state-controlled broadcasting system and the strong ethnic nationalism in modern Korea, all other subjects that threatened national unity were eliminated from the national imagery; therefore, they were hardly represented on national broadcasting networks. Although "non-national" subjects were rarely visible on national television, Koreans experienced foreign culture through imported television programs. In particular, since television content was not sufficient due to lack of skill and technology in the early broadcasting days of the 1960s, foreign television serials were much appreciated among Korean audiences (J. M. Han, 2011a). Moreover, American television

series and films were greatly enjoyed among Korean audiences in the 1970s and 1980s, even though the content was restricted and censored by the state (Y. C. Kim, 2011). The heavy presence of American culture through the US army, radio, and television in modern Korea had significantly influenced Korean popular culture of the time. In other words, American television series were a window to experience "cultural otherness" and "cultural exoticism" (Y. C. Kim, 2011).

Watching American television programs and films gave Koreans an opportunity to indirectly experience a different race and different culture, although the encounter with racial others was never thought of "our problem." At the same time, in terms of self-generated television programs, the state censored the content of the programs so that something that was harmful to national unity or the national spirit, such as the youth's resistance culture, communism, or social conflicts, would rarely make it on the air due to oppressive statist media system. Under this socio-cultural context, it is not surprising that racial others and Amerasian issues were not considered serious topics for popular cultural forums, including television, film, and literature.

According to Koh's (2009) study on the representation of American GIs in postwar Korean cinema, negative images of American GIs were restricted by the law until the end of 1980s because Korea's national security was in support of the American army in Korea. In the film *The Flower in Hell* (1958), where a representation of American GIs and the prostitutes in the military camp first appeared in the Korean national cinema, it was impossible to critically portray the uneven and unequal relations between the US military camp and female prostitutes due to the repressive broadcasting act. Instead, only positive images about American popular culture that American soldiers used to enjoy, such as dance parties and American pop songs, were allowed on screen. Under this circumstance, it was harder still to see representations of mixed-race people

whose fathers were American GIs, since they would remind Koreans of US imperialism in the postwar situation and complicate the power dynamics between the US and Korea.

Although modern Korea had no room for racial diversity or racial others, it is important to note that the amusement districts around the US military camp towns functioned as a hub for show business, and some mixed-race entertainers were able to start their careers from there. Around those districts, cafes, bars, nightclubs, and prostitution complexes were all situated together for American soldiers' leisure. Specifically, the bars and nightclubs in the district ran their own show business so that they acted like entertainment management. They recruited underground singers and bands to perform onstage. Among several districts near the camp town, the most successful and popular one was around the 8th U.S Army in Young-San district in Seoul. In other words, it can be said that this amusement district was the precursor to the entertainment industry in Korea. From this district, many underground singers were able to successfully debut on national television. Moreover, since it was around the US military camp, some mixed-race amateur singers were also able to perform in the district and eventually to be on television.

According to Gage (2007), "Entertainers Insooni, Yoon Soo-Il, Park Il-Joon and Oh Se-Keun since the 1980s have brought the 'Amerasian' face into Korean society, although restricted in some cases and their influence limited. Amerasians can do acting jobs, acting as foreigners" (p. 134). Among them, Park Il-Joon, a black mixed-race male, Insooni, a black mixed-race female, and Yoon Soo-Il, a white mixed-race male, are the most successful singers who first debuted from the 8th US Army base. Despite the harsh social atmosphere toward mixed-race people of the time, it is interesting to note that those mixed-race singers became famous and loved by the Korean mass audiences due to their excellent performances. Although they first debuted as singers, some of them expanded

their career to acting as well. For instance, Insooni was cast in a leading role as a black mixed-race woman who was born after the Korean War in the film *Black Woman* (1982). It is notable that the film was a melodrama between a black mixed-race female (Insooni) and a Korean male; it was first time ever that the black mixed-race female was represented as a protagonist in the genre of melodrama/erotic movie. At the same time, however, the film is also problematic in the sense that the film consumes Insooni's black body as a way to arouse exotic/erotic desire. In the same vein, Park Il-Joon appeared in the television drama *Comrade* (KBS-1, 1984) as a guest; the show was based on the Korean War and anti-communism. In the drama, he appeared as a Korean-American pilot from Hawai'i. However, the fact that these entertainers were popular and appeared on television and in film does not mean that they were exceptions to the harsh discrimination against mixed-race people in the modern period. Whether white or black mixed-race, all of them had to face social and cultural stigmas. In particular, for both black mixed-race singers, Insooni and Park Il-Joon, people protested their being on air only because of their skin color. This forced them to put on white make-up on or to cover their curly hair to mitigate people's repulsion towards black mixed-race individuals.

In a broader context, foreign entertainers – other than mixed-race entertainers – began to be visible in Korean television since the mid-1980s (S. S. Park, 1984). According to one newspaper article (S. S. Park, 1984), several "white beauties and handsome men" from the Western countries, including America, Germany, and the UK, were particularly welcomed and cast in Korean dramas in several roles. It is interesting that whites from the advanced Western societies have always been welcomed in Korean society. This phenomenon will also be discussed in the following section, where I contextualize the rise of multiracial representations in contemporary Korean television.

2.2 Searching for a New National Identity: Making Sense of the Transformation into a Multicultural, Global Korea

Starting from 1987, the end of militant authoritarian regime, Korean society has experienced several major socio-structural transformations such as globalization, neoliberalism, and democratization. These changes have affected Korean society as a whole and led to a certain degree of transformation at large. Accordingly, this section considers the cultural and ideological transformation from a monocultural/monoracial Korea to a global/multicultural Korea from the perspective of race-nation-media, following the structure of Section 2.1 above. One point to address here is that both 2.1 and 2.2 are separate but paired in order to facilitate a comparative point of view; through this structure, the transformation that I am outlining in this chapter can make more sense to readers. Therefore, to demonstrate the cultural and ideological transformation from a presumed monoracial Korea to a today's multicultural Korea, this section examines social, cultural, and structural forces and contexts that bring racial diversity to contemporary Korean society and to the Korean media landscape.

2.2.1 Global Migration and Racial Reconfiguration in Contemporary Korea: 'Kosian' as a Marker of Korea's Multicultural Future

Although controversial, the modernization project under Park Jung Hee led Korea to become one of the fastest developing countries in the world. This transformation has been labeled "the miracle of the Han River" comparable to "the miracle of the Nile River." The (economic) modernization had already reached its full circle by the end of the 1980s when the consecutive militant authoritarian regimes completely collapsed in 1987. After 1987, Korea had to undergo several "turns," such as (political) democratization, (economic) liberalization, and (cultural) diversification. In other words, the late 1980s and the early 1990s was a transitional period for the Korean nation, and it

was also the moment that the nation first enjoyed its economic development and cultural amusement under the democratic regime. By then, Korea – which used to be a labor-sending country due to its cheap labor compared to other developed countries – turned into a labor-receiving country as it has achieved rapid economic development through the modernization project (Y.-J. Lee, 2011). In this sense, it is no coincidence that the first wave of migrant workers arrived in 1987, just as Korea was experiencing this internal shift.

It was under Kim Young Sam's government (1993-1998) that globalization (*segyehwa*) was first introduced and served as a catchword for the Kim government. It is important to note that Korea's globalization, like the modernization project in the 1970s and 1980s, was initiated by the state (Samuel Kim, 2000; G.-W. Shin, 2006). The rhetoric of globalization served to create a national image of a "New Korea," and this led to globalization in many areas such as economy, culture, and politics. In the cultural sphere, Korean media/cultural products referred to as the Korean Wave have been very successful and popular among East Asian countries, and Korean industrial products have been widely exported. Ironically, in the midst of this globalization process, Korea experienced the economic crisis of 1997 and had to be placed under the control of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) for a while. This economic crisis, which many Asian countries such as Thailand, Indonesia, Hong Kong, and Malaysia also experienced in 1997, led to a more flexible economic and labor system and accelerated the influx of foreign migrant labors into Korean society (K. Moon, 2000). Caused by this economic crisis in 1997, neoliberal capitalism and transnational movements are fundamentally restructuring the economic and labor relations in Korea (J. Song, 2011).

It is in this context that the current racial reconfiguration in Korea should be understood. Through undergoing the "neoliberal turn" after the economic crisis, the

global migration has even accelerated as Korea is looking for a new, cheap labor source from near Asian countries. Not only in Korea but also in other developed societies in Asia, such as Japan, Singapore, and Hong Kong, the aging population and labor shortages in 3D (Difficult, Dangerous, and Dirty) industries have expedited the rise of inter-Asian migration (A. E. Kim, 2009; Y.-J. Lee, 2011). The inter-Asian migration is particularly prevalent not only because of the short geographical distance among the nations but also because of racial proximity. For instance, Korean-Chinese were much more preferred as imported labor in the early stages of immigration because they share some similarities with Koreans, such as appearance and language (Freeman, 2005; H. O. Park, 2011). Moreover, the circulation of labor, cultural products, and capital has accelerated within the (East) Asian region more rapidly than ever before. Keane (2006) points out that regionalization becomes more and more prevalent as globalization proceeds, and global cities in the region (e.g., Tokyo, Seoul, and Hong Kong) play a central role as a hub for circulating those resources within the region.

From the 1990s, migrant workers have been an important subject in terms of racial issues due to the division of international labor (T. Lim, 2010). There has been a huge influx of migrant workers especially from near South (East) Asian countries (A. E. Kim, 2009; J. Shin, 2009). Partly caused by the torrential flow of migrant workers and mainly due to the lack of Korean females in the rural areas, the international marriage between Koreans and Asians – mostly between a Korean man and an Asian woman – has been drastically increased since the early 2000s. This rapid increase of migrant workers and international marriages, initiated by the neoliberal restructuring process in the late 1990s, promotes the idea of multiculturalism in Korea (Ahn, 2012; G.-S. Han, 2007; A. E. Kim, 2009; H. M. Kim, 2007). In other words, multiculturalism in Korea conducts a

discursive practice that enables all types of racial and ethnic groups to integrate more effectively into Korean society.

Although there have been various governmental policies regulating those incoming populations, the policies were not particularly exercised under the umbrella of multiculturalism policy before the mid-2000s. However, state-led multiculturalism policy has been practiced in earnest since 2006, and "A plan for promoting the social integration of mixed-race and immigrants" was announced in April 2006. This program is significant because it was the first integrated governmental plan for a multicultural society. Moreover, it made multicultural families a key subject of multiculturalism policy, disregarding migrant workers who had immigrated earlier than marriage migrants (Ahn, 2013). H. M. Kim (2007) also notes that migrant women have been at the center of the Korean government's attention because "migrant women are perceived as the most easily mobilized resource to solve the various family crises and care-work burdens facing Korean society" (p. 106). This means that the migrant workers are systematically excluded from multiculturalism policy whereas female marriage migrants are the main subjects of the multiculturalism policy (Ahn, 2013; G.-S. Han, 2007; H. M. Kim, 2007).

The fact that the multicultural family and female marriage migrants have been placed at the center of Korean multiculturalism policy is crucial for understanding the current racial reconfiguration because it signifies that the mixed-race children of South Asian descendant are now becoming the main targeted subjects and multicultural future of Korea. What I call attention to here is the changes in the mixed-race discourse upon the social transformation that Korea had to undergo in recent decades. The most obvious change is that the main subject of mixed-race discourse has been shifted from Amerasian or Komerican (half Korean and half American) to 'Kosian.' Although both Amerasians and 'Kosians' refer to mixed-race people in general, each term refers to different groups

of mixed-race people as they came out of a different historical context. As I have explained in Chapter 1, those terms indicate the generational difference among mixed-race people in that Amerasians are the first generation resulting from the Korean War and the presence of the US military in Korea, whereas 'Kosians' refer to a more recent generation caused by the neoliberal labor restructuring and inter-Asian global migration since the 1990s.

While the Amerasian was a symbol of a homo sacer, embodying the state racism as I have argued in the section above, 'Kosians' as well as other multicultural subjects represent a different type of state racism under the current circumstances of globalization and neoliberalism. It seems that the children of multicultural families are more accepted, at least legally, than Amerasians were in the past, as seen from the government's multicultural policies today. However, I believe this acceptance only becomes possible through colluding with Korea's patriarchal system because patrilineal kinship is prioritized over all other familial relations. Hence, I would argue that the restructuring of the familial unit, illustrated by emerging terms like multicultural family and 'Kosian,' reconfigures the racial order in Korean society without fundamentally challenging the hegemonic familial relationship (patriarchy). It explains why current state-led multicultural policies are rather similar to an assimilation policy: in this patriarchal paradigm, the most urgent subjects to be amalgamated are, of course, the children of multicultural families and female marriage migrants in order to prevent racial antagonism in Korea. In this sense, it is not surprising that the question of how to govern the increasing population of multicultural families and their mixed-race children has become the primary concern for the Korean government today.

Therefore, the discourse of 'Kosian' unpacks the struggle for Koreanness under the current racial reconfiguration in the era of globalization, which will be discussed

further in Chapter 5. Tracing the discursive practice around multiculturalism and 'Kosian' in relation to other types of mixed-race people and other racial minorities is crucial for understanding the racial politics in Korea because it demonstrates how the multicultural battle under the neoliberal restructuring process takes place (see Roberts & Mahtani, 2010). Taking it one step further, it is also important to look at how the Korean televisual media articulates the issue and spins the narrative about multiculturalism and racial groups in a certain direction. For instance, if there is any association between a certain racial group and a television genre, it is one particular way that Korean television narrates the current racial problem. In the same vein, anchoring the mixed-race category at the center of our discussion, I aim to recontextualize and advance our discussion on the rise of multinational/multiracial representations in contemporary Korean television, which will be discussed in following chapters.

2.2.2 Transformation of Korean Media/Cultural Industry After 1987

The social changes that I have explained above are not separable from the media industrial changes after 1987. After the 30-year-long militant dictatorships collapsed, the broadcasting system as well as the media/cultural industry were democratized and liberalized. In accordance with the rapid social change, the Korean nation has had to struggle to search for a new Koreanness in the era of globalization. Television and popular culture have become more and more powerful and important sites that mediate people's imagining and practicing of this new Koreanness. Accordingly, the changed nature of the Korean media industry has altered the ways in which the global Korea is imagined. It is in this context that the struggle to define the new Koreanness coupled with racial reconfiguration due to global migration needs to be understood. Put differently, we need to understand what the structural reformation in the Korean media industry brings to

the current rise of multinational/multiracial representations in Korea's televisual landscape.

Deregulation and Liberalization of Korean Media in the Multichannel and Multimedia Era

The year 1987 is symbolic and foundational in Korean society because the democratization movement had brought significant changes to various sectors, including the media and cultural industry. One of the most obvious changes is that the contemporary Korean media has become more and more liberalized and commercialized since the 1990s. In particular, it is said that while the 1990s was the period of democratization and liberalization of the Korean media, the 2000s was the period of free-for-all marketization (H.-J. Cho & Park, 2011; J. M. Han, 2011b; Y. H. Kim, 2011).

While the power of the state was absolutely tremendous in (re)structuring the media system and shaping public opinion in modern Korea, it has diminished, although not dissipated, due to the democratization movement and economic liberalization after 1987. Driven by these structural changes, many factors – other than the state – have appeared and influenced the cultural geography of the Korean media industry, such as the rise of audience power, expansion of the broadcasting market both domestically and internationally, development of communication/media technology, growth of the advertising market, and economic reform after the crisis of 1997 (S. D. Kim, 1996).

According to Shim (2002), "wide-ranging democratization measures led to deregulation in the media sector, leading to the birth of a new commercial TV channel [SBS] in 1991" (p. 338). The establishment of SBS is symbolic because it designates the rebirth of the public-and-private dual broadcasting system, which was abolished due to the media consolidation practice under Chun's government in 1980. Moreover, in a larger

context, influenced by the Asian-wide economic crisis in 1997, not only Korea but many other countries in Asia, including Taiwan and Singapore, also experienced liberalization and commercialization of the media industry (Tay, 2009).

The television programs of the time also reflected this social transformation. The media institutions, which formerly served state interests, became more democratized and began to air critical voices towards the government and society (Y. H. Jung, 2005). *Sand Watch* (SBS, 1995), one of the most popular television dramas in the 1990s, was inspired by the democratization movement and unveiled the merciless state violence under Chun Doo Hwan's regime in the 1980s. The viewer rating of the drama was over 64% nationwide, which indicates that audiences craved good quality television dramas. In addition, since a new commercial network (SBS) entered into the broadcasting market and did a fairly good job making quality shows such as *Sand Watch*, public broadcasting channels had to compete with the commercial one, which led to the increased sensationalization and entertainment value of all channels (I. S. Jung & Jang, 2000).

Together with the liberalization of the media industry, one notable change in the 1990s is that the multichannel and multimedia era had finally come. Beside the establishment of the commercial network, local broadcasting networks as well as private broadcasting networks started to flourish and channels were diversified. Specifically, after the Korean government decided to build a digitized, integrated cable television infrastructure in 1989 (Shim, 2002), cable TV first started in 1995 and satellite TV followed in 1996. Through enacting The Cable Television Act and the Presidential Decree on Cable TV Services in 1991, 20 channels with 11 program categories were introduced in order to ensure diversity of content in cable service (Shim, 2002, p. 338).[7]

[7] For more detailed information about the cable television industry and governmental policies, refer to Siho Nam (2008).

Due to the multichannel explosion starting in the 1990s, the sales and rating of commercial pay channels has been increasingly growing, whereas the power (ratings and advertising market share) of terrestrial broadcasting channels has been gradually weakening even though the terrestrial television content itself still remains powerful (J. Yim, 2010; Youn, 2006). Given the explosion of television channels in the 1990s, the competition among broadcasting networks has become keener and keener (S.-C. Lee & Joe, 2000).

Furthermore, the Korean media industry has had to compete against global capital as well since the 1990s as globalization continues. In this context, the state's stubborn protectionism could not remain any longer, and Korea had to open the domestic market towards the global market in 1999 (S.-C. Lee & Joe, 2000). The closed-door policy towards Japanese popular culture opened around this time. Joo (2012, p. 51) explains this transition in brief:

> Under the pressure of the WTO, media liberalization began in earnest in 1995. Some of the changes in mass media included the introduction of cable television, the relaxing of ownership restraints, and the deregulation of advertising sales (S. Yoon, 1996). The Integrated Broadcasting Law in 1999 ushered in the era of satellite television (P. Yun, 2001).

Under this rigorous influx of global capital and harsh competition, The Integrated Broadcasting Law was enacted to secure the domestic market and restrict the influx of foreign investment in terrestrial broadcasting channels and cable television industry (D. Kim & Hong, 2001, p. 80). However, the act was amended in 2009 due to the severe competition and external pressure. The amended Broadcasting Act relaxed the ownership restraints, increased the portion of foreign investment in pay channels, and allowed the national daily newspaper company to enter the broadcasting business, which was formerly banned by the act (J. M. Han, 2011b; Y. H. Kim, 2011). As a consequence, four

new general-programming channels launched in 2011: jTBC (owned by *JoongAng Ilbo*), TV Chosun (by *Chosun Ilbo*), Channel A (by *Dong-A Ilbo*), and MBS (by *Mail Business Newspaper*), all of which were owned or funded by the four major (private) newspaper companies. The establishment of these four new television stations clearly captures where the Korean television broadcasting system is now heading: deregulation and commercialization.

Besides the structural reforms, the development of new media technology and the advent of media convergence have not only revolutionized people's way of experiencing media but also changed the nature of the media environment starting from the early 2000s. The convergence culture has led audiences to watch television via multiple outlets such as DMB, Internet, IPTV, etc., and the explosion of multimedia and multichannel television has increased audiences' demand for new media content as well (J. Yim, 2010). Although it is certain that the rise of multimedia platforms and multichannel television launched a new era in Korean broadcasting history, it does not necessarily mean that the contents has also become rich. In other words, cable television, satellite television, and four general programming television stations strived to develop (new) program content. Hence, they copied and imported global television formats to fill out the increasing number of new channels (Moran & Keane, 2004; Straubhaar, 2007), which also accelerated the commercialization of the Korean media industry under the current neoliberal world system.

Due to the economic constraints under the multichannel/multimedia environment, there has been a significant change in programming pattern since the 2000s: the rise of reality television shows (KOCCA, 2011). The logic behind the rise of reality television around the world is due to its low production cost. Reality shows were first introduced in the US and the UK in the 1990s because they were able to make them with low

production cost compared to sitcoms and soap operas (Y. C. Kim, 2005). Popularized through the 2000s, the reality program format soon became popular around the globe as the format exported to many other countries. The important aspect of its global success is that the reality program is easily transferable to the local context because the show is produced with local people in a globally successful format. This strategy, also known as "glocalization," is central to understanding the current global media flow (Straubhaar, 2007). The cable channels particularly appreciated the reality television format for its relatively cheap production cost and launched several reality shows after the huge success of the cable channel MNet's survival audition program *Super Star K* (MNet, 2009-presnet). Deeply influenced by cable television's big hit, the terrestrial television networks began increasing their reality programming. For instance, there were 11 reality survival programs on all three terrestrial networks in 2010-2011 alone (KOCCA, 2011, p. 50), which illustrates how successful the reality television format has been in Korea.

Given this programming pattern, the contemporary Korean media industry is increasingly commercialized and globalized in terms of its content. This trend does not merely mean that the portion of foreign investment and foreign content is increasing in the Korean media industry, but it also signifies that the Korean media content and popular culture have been globalized. Below, I will explain this counter flow of globalizing Korean media/popular culture and its regional/global circulation, which requires another important axis to understand the explosion of multicultural representations in contemporary Korean television.

Globalizing the Korean Media Industry and Cultural Products: The Korean Wave

Coupled with commercialization and deregulation, Korean popular culture has also been going global throughout the 1990s and the 2000s. The cultural bar set against

Japanese popular culture first opened in 1998 and significantly lifted in 2004. Heavily influenced by the cultural mood of the time, domestically, the 1990s was called "the second television era" in Korean broadcasting history as various types of television programs were launched and competed based upon market principles. In particular, many quality television dramas and blockbuster dramas appeared around this time. In particular, trendy drama, influenced by the popularity of Japanese trendy drama in the 1990s in Asia (Ang, 2007; Iwabuchi, 2004), was very successful among young Korean audiences. In other words, the 1990s was the period that oppressed desire under the authoritarian regimes erupted, and audiences' desire to enjoy quality television programs and their viewing pleasure exploded (Y. H. Jung, 2005).

Internationally, starting from the late 1990s, the government realized that the economic potential of cultural products is huge as seen from the example of *Jurassic Park* (1993)'s success (Shim, 2002). Thus, it started to support and fund the cultural industry on behalf of big (media) corporations. In this process, the Korean giant corporations, such as Samsung, LG, and Daewoo, invested their money in the media/cultural industry, and Korean blockbuster movies were produced. *Swiri* (1998) is one of the most successful Korean blockbusters in Korean film history as it mobilized over 6 million viewers, which was a remarkable number in terms of viewership in the 1990s. Inspired by *Swiri*'s huge success, the Korean film industry produced big budget blockbuster movies comparable to the Hollywood blockbusters. It can be said that the paradigm of culture or cultural policy has shifted since the 1990s under the influence of the neoliberal economic turn (H. Yim, 2002, 2009). Put differently, the trend of cultural policy in Korea has gradually changed from "preserving national/traditional culture" in the 1960s-70s to "globalizing Korean culture (to the world)" in the 1980s-2000s

It is in this context that I believe the Korean Wave encapsulates the transformation of the Korean media/cultural industry under the current neoliberal globalization. Going against one-directional global flow from the center to the periphery (Hannerz, 1997; M. Kraidy, 2005; Tomplinson, 2003), the Korean Wave illuminates inter-Asian media/cultural circulation and regional consumption (H. J. Cho, 2005; Y. Cho, 2011a; B. H. Chua & Iwabuchi, 2008; Huang, 2009; J. Kim, 2006). According to H. M. Kim (2005), the Korean Wave refers to "the rapid spread of Korean pop culture throughout Asia in the popularity of Korean dramas, music, films, animation, games and fan clubs for Korean stars" (p. 184). In a historical sense, the Korean Wave first started in 1999 with teenage Chinese fans of the Korean male idol group, H.O.T (High-Five of Teenager) and gradually spread to Taiwan. This huge success of Korean singers and groups in Chinese speaking countries from 1999 to 2003 represented the first stage of the Korean Wave. The so-called second Korean Wave started in 2003. The year of 2003 is particularly important because there were major shifts in the Korean Wave. It was in 2003 that the Korean television drama, *Winter Sonata*, hit Japan. The scene changed from music to drama and from China to Japan (H. J. Cho, 2005). Since the mid-2000s, the Korean Wave has diversified and expanded its (cultural) content to games, comics, characters, food, tourism and even the Korean language, a phenomenon also known as the third Korean Wave.

In its initial stage, scholars discussed the success of the Korean Wave in terms of cultural proximity within East Asia so that it was considered a sign of cultural regionalization (Iwabuchi, 2002; Straubhaar, 1991, 2007). However, as the form of the Korean Wave has evolved over time, it is now successful in the global market not only in Asia, but also in the USA, Western Europe, and the Middle East, despite the language barrier and different cultural background (J. Oh, 2012). Locating the Korean Wave in the

context of the postcolonial situation, M. Lee (2012) explains the increasing cultural power of Korea as follows:

> Given the historical context of globalization in Korea, the emergence of *Hallyu* punctuates a multiplication of Korea's postcolonial sovereignty, in which the potential for regional hegemony opens up Korea's previous Cold War ethnic-nationalism to a slew of possible transformations and expressive modalities through the rubric of globalization. The emergency of sovereignty is no longer centrally secured through the trope of national defense and state-protectionism, but is now increasingly locatable in the mission of global expansionism as a means of exercising national authority (M. Lee, 2012, pp. 176-177).

Agreeing that global expansionism is another way the state exercises its sovereign power, I argue that the Korean Wave is a national program, driven by the Korean media industry and sponsored by the government, to construct global Koreanness. In this context, it is important to note that the cultural boundary of the Korean Wave is now expanding, by incorporating other East Asian popular culture as well as what used to be "non-Korean" elements (such as casting foreign entertainers and embracing [white-] Western elements) as its ingredients. In other words, exalted as a national project in the work of commercial Korean media, the Korean Wave becomes a cultural site where the meaning of Koreanness is reshaped and contested. Given that the Korean Wave is a work of re-branding national identity in the era of globalization (S. Y. Park, 2010), in Chapter 4, where I analyze white mixed-race celebrity Daniel Henney, I will further discuss how the Korean Wave as a national project articulates (cosmopolitan) whiteness, which brings the racial issue to the fore, and how Koreanness is reconfigured in the framework of neoliberal multiculturalism.

2.2.3 The Rise of Racial Visibility and a Politics of Multiculturalism in Contemporary Korean Television

In contrast to the modern monoracial Korea, where racial representation was rather sporadic or even absent, the media's portrayal of race has dramatically increased

since 2000 in contemporary Korea. Together with the state-led globalization from the early 1990s, television programs started to produce programs that feature foreigners or foreign countries. This phenomenon means that Korean television grew and expanded enough to go outside of Korea. Especially by the end of the 1990s, Korean television turned its eye towards the world. For instance, *Go, Earth Explorers* (KBS-2, 1996-2005) explores many countries around the world to introduce eccentric global culture. Its follow-up program, *Amazing Asia* (KBS-2, 2005-2007) travels across Asia and introduces peculiar culture, customs, eccentrics, and mysteries. In the same vein, one segment titled "Asia! Asia!" in *Exclamation Mark!* (MBC, 2001-2004, 2004-2007) introduces the stories of Asian immigrants or migrant workers in Korea and helps them to visit their home country or visits their home country on their behalf. Those programs in the 2000s (indirectly) reflect the rise of inter-Asian migration starting from the late 1980s. Put differently, the Korean television started to recognize the struggle for racial reconfiguration from the late 1990s and the early 2000s.

While the programs that explore foreigners and their culture abroad in the late 1990s and the early 2000s focus outward, different types of racial groups who "live in" Korea began to appear on the television screen across the genres after the mid-2000s. The most promising and initiative genres that put racially diverse people onto the screen are drama, advertising, and entertaining programs (see H.-E. Lee, You, & Ahn, 2007). Tables 2 and 3 below list the dramas and entertainment shows that have cast racial others in leading or supporting roles since 2005.

Title	Genre	Network	Year	Actor's Name (ethnicity)	Note
Bride from Hanoi	Drama (single act)	SBS	2005		Vietnamese bride (played by a Korean actress)
My Lovely Samsoon	Drama	MBC	2005	Daniel Henney (white mixed-race Korean)	
Sweet Spy	Drama	MBC	2005	Dennis Oh (white mixed-race Korean)	
Spring Waltz	Drama	KBS-2	2006	Daniel Henney	
Nineteen Romance	Drama	KBS-1	2006		Korean-Chinese (played by a Korean actress)
Kkamgeun' s Mother	Drama (single act)	SBS	2006		Ordinary 'Kosian' was cast for the role
Golden Bride	Drama	SBS	2007		Vietnamese-Korean bride (played by a Korean actress), main character,
Witch, Yu-Hui	Drama	SBS	2007	Dennis Oh (white mixed-race Korean)	
Miwoona Gouna	Drama	KBS-1	2007	Eva Sachiko Popiel (Japanese-British)	
I Came to Pick Flowers	Drama	KBS-2	2007	Ha Hwang haiyen (Vietnamese by birth, got Korean citizenship)	Vietnamese bride
Tamra is an Island	Drama	MBC	2009	Pierre Deporte (white French)	
Can Anybody Love?	Drama	SBS	2009	Ha Hwang haiyen	Indonesian bride
High Kick	Sitcom	MBC	2009-2010	Julien Kang (white mixed-race Korean)	

Table 2: The list of television dramas that have cast foreigners and Korean mixed-race people

Title	Genre	Network	Year	Actor's Name (ethnicity)	Note
The Fugitive Plan B	Drama	KBS-2	2010	Daniel Henney	
Athena	Drama	SBS	2010	Sean Richard (white mixed-race Korean)	
Golden Fish	Drama	MBC	2010	Guzal Tursunova (Uzbekistan)	
Smile	Drama	EBS	2010	Ha Hwang haiyen	Vietnamese bride
Jejungwon	Drama	SBS	2011	Sean Richard Ricky Kim (white mixed-race Korean)	
Midas	Drama	SBS	2011	Ricky Kim (white mixed-race Korean)	
New Korean Geisha	Drama	SBS	2011	Michael Blunck (white French)	

Table 2: The list of television dramas that have cast foreigners and Korean mixed-race people (continued)

Title	Genre	Network	Period
Love in Asia	(hybrid) Reality-documentary	KBS-1	2005-present
A Chat with Beauties	Talk show	KBS-1 & 2	2006-2010
Nice to Meet You, In-Law	(hybrid) Reality-documentary	SBS	2007-2009
We Got Married	(virtual) Reality	MBC	2009-present
Great Birth	Reality-survival audition	MBC	2010-present
K-Pop Star	Reality-survival audition	SBS	2011-present
Top Band	Reality-survival audition	KBS-2	2011-present
Dancing with the Star	Reality-survival audition	MBC	2011-present

Table 3: The list of entertainment shows that have cast racial others

As shown above, multiracial representation has drastically increased since the early and mid-2000s. It is worthwhile to note that the first television drama that dealt with migration from Asia was *Bride from Hanoi* in 2005, when the multiculturalism has begun to be publically discussed as a social agenda (see Ryu, 2009). The main plot is a melodrama between a Vietnamese girl and a Korean guy. Given that it was a one-episode drama, it can be said that the network was experimenting with whether or not this type of international love story would appeal to Korean audiences. Since it received a good response and fair rating, SBS tried a longer version of a similar story in *Golden Bride* in 2007. It was also successful and popular, dealing with love between a Vietnamese bride and a Korean man (see M. H. Kim, 2007; Y.-r. Kim, Yoo, & Kim, 2009). Interestingly, although both dramas involved Vietnamese brides, the main female protagonists were played by a Korean actress. It is assumed that this is because, first of all, there is no Vietnamese actress who can speak Korean and, secondly, even if one exists, it is too risky to cast a "real racial other" in a national television network drama. With the same reason, there is no serial drama that has a character from a multicultural family except for the single-episode drama, *Kkamgeun's Mother*. This was the first drama that cast "real" mixed-race children of a multicultural family in Korean television to address the issue of multicultural families in Korean society.

Another point to be addressed is the heavy presence of whites or white mixed-race individuals in a number of dramas. Note that, as illustrated in Table 2, 12 out of 20 Korean television dramas cast white or white mixed-race Koreans in leading and/or supporting roles. Although there are a handful of Asian (female) migrant characters (2 played by Korean actress and 4 by Asian actress), no other racial/ethnic characters, except for whites and white mixed-race people, appear in Korean dramas. Moreover, that there has been no black (or black mixed-race) character or black actor at all in Korean

dramas clearly shows that whites have become a preferred racial group in the Korean dramas. In fact, we can notice that there is a strong affiliation between the white race and television drama. In other words, a white actor/actress who is good-looking and speaks in fluent English is desirable in the Korean television dramas, while other racial groups are less desirable and therefore hardly appear in the dramas.

However, the white-dominant phenomenon is not necessarily true in the entertainment genre. Within this genre, it is interesting to note that the reality program – whether it's an audition program, instructional program, or variety show – is the most vibrant television format that casts foreigners. One important show, *Love in Asia,* which has aired for over 7 years since 2005, is a hybrid program of education, entertainment, and human documentary. The distinguishable aspect of the program is that it is the first and the longest-running program that is fully devoted to dealing with female marriage migrants and their multicultural families in Korea. Although it has received many criticisms from media critics and academic scholars as it only portraits the romantic love between female migrants and Korean men and reinforces the stereotypes about the multicultural family (K. S. Lee, 2006), it was, at the same time, nominated for a "cultural diversity program award" given by the Korean Communications Commission in 2009 because it helps to increase multicultural sensibility. Though controversial, it is certain that the program has created a public (cultural) forum that Koreans can refer to when talking about racial relations and the struggle for Koreanness. Given that the show is one of the most successful multicultural shows that produces discourse about multicultural subjects and the multicultural reality of Korea, Chapter 5 will investigate how the show visualizes a multicultural Korea and formulates Korean national identity by casting ordinary multicultural subjects.

Meanwhile, the reality-(survival) audition program genre has become more and more popular since the late 2000s. It is particularly interesting that the audition programs are eager to recruit multinational/multiracial participants to emphasize their "global" scale. As discussed earlier in Section 2.2.2, the rise of the reality-audition genre is partly affected by the global television format because buying a successful television format from other countries can reduce production costs. First started by the cable channel MNet's *Super Star K* in 2009, audition programs have been very successful in terms of ratings. Hence, all three terrestrial national networks started their own (music) audition programs titled, respectively, *The Great Birth* (MBC, 2010-present), *Top Band* (KBS-2, 2011-present) and *K-Pop Star* (SBS, 2011-present). As they claim to be a "global audition," these programs are more likely to feature multinational/multiracial representations. Moreover, the global success of the Korean Wave, specifically K-pop in the global market, has also made these programs successful.

Other than survival audition programs, the "global talk show" *A Chat with Beauties* is also notable in that it is a show fully devoted to casting multinational and multiracial females from around the world. Recruiting 16 female panelists from around the world, the program talks about what Koreans and Korean culture look like through the eyes of these 16 foreigners. That this program was hugely successful is meaningful because it demonstrates that ordinary foreigners who live in Korea can be on air as well as become semi-celebrities due to the show's popularity. Some of them actually were cast on Korean dramas, albeit in a minor role. For instance, Eva Popiel (Japanese-British), Ha Hwang Haiyen (Vietnamese), and Guzal Tursunova (Uzbekistani) were cast in some of the successful Korean dramas as seen in Table 2. Given that some panelists debuted as entertainers, capitalizing on the popularity that they earned through the show, it can be

said that the program played an essential role in envisioning a multicultural Korea and visualizing racial order in Korean society.

As seen from the list of television shows and drams that recruited multiracial celebrities and individuals, it is certain that the map of contemporary Korean television has become more "colored" than ever before compared to the modern Korea. In this project, however, I question what this change means for Korean society and critically deconstruct the ideological construction of a multicultural, global Korea that the Korean television projects. Therefore, the following chapters aim to complicate and problematize the ideological transformation into the multicultural global Korea by analyzing both mixed-race celebrities and mixed-race people in the reality programs.

2.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have explicated the cultural, discursive, and ideological shift in imagining Korean national identity from a monoracial modern Korea to a multicultural contemporary Korea. As I have stressed throughout the chapter, there has been a shift in how the Korean nation is imagined and in the representational mode of formulating national identity during a particular period in time. To delineate this shift, I have examined sociohistorical conditions in both modern and contemporary Korea from the perspective of race-nation-media to contextualize the (discursive) transformation from a modern monoracial Korea to a multicultural, global Korea today.

As argued above, the rise of multiracial representation in contemporary Korean television needs to be understood in the context of the neoliberal turn after pan-Asian economic crisis in 1997, and media industrial changes, such as commercialization, liberalization, and the Korean Wave, as a site where (global) Koreanness is (re)shaped. In

other words, it is not enough to just illustrate how the representation of racial others, including mixed-race individuals, has changed without considering the socio-cultural context as well as the structural conditions of the media system. On this ground, I contend that the neoliberal multiculturalism that I have proposed to frame the dissertation in Chapter 1 explains the transformation in a much more nuanced way. This lens suggests that the Korean developmental state in the neoliberal era (Pirie, 2008) and its nationalist desire to be global drives the discourse of cultural diversity, racial politics, and multiculturalism in Korea's televisual landscape. However, what should be noted is that the articulation between neoliberalism and multiculturalism is uneven and unstable (as the logic of state and market differs at a given time) so that it draws different cultural maps depending on the case. Therefore, building upon this foundation, the following chapters will address how the different modes of articulation between multiculturalism and neoliberalism shape different cultural logics about Korean national identity. To trace this process, I examine the (media) discursive practices in the case of Amerasian celebrities as well as other ordinary multicultural subjects on Korean television.

Chapter 3. Rearticulating the Black Mixed-Race Figure with Korean Multiculturalism: Hines Ward and the Struggle for Koreanness

I'm proud to be a Korean. That's something when as a little kid, I was ashamed of. I had to overcome a lot, being teased a lot by American kids about me being 50 percent Korean, being 50 percent African-American. — Hines Ward[8]

As briefly introduced in Chapter 1, American football star Hines Ward's visit to Korea with his Korean mother in 2006 ignited public discussion on multiculturalism in Korean society. Being a black mixed-race Korean, Ward has become a symbolic media figure that unpacks the struggle for Koreanness and statist policies on multiculturalism. What interests me here is the articulation between this black mixed-race figure and multiculturalism discourse, which has sparked the discursive explosion on multiculturalism and mixed-race in Korean society. I believe that his black body becomes a culture site where a "multicultural battle" takes place and where the cultural meaning of the mixed-race category and mixed-race national identity are contested and reshaped. Moreover, as a black Amerasian sport celebrity, Ward's black body is glamorized and commercialized in the work of Korean commercial media in a different way than that of white mixed-race actors or any other black mixed-race celebrities in the past. In other words, the Hines Ward case not only speaks to the statist multicultural discourse, but it also indicates how the discourse of multiculturalism is mediated and shifted in contemporary commercial Korean television.

Hence, in this chapter, I examine Hines Ward as a significant media/cultural text that illustrates the changes in how the Korean nation is imagined under the tension of neoliberal globalization and multiculturalism. In this process, I demonstrate how the

[8] This quote is from an interview with Hines Ward published in *Asian Week* ("Hines Ward Visits The Motherland," 2006).

conceptual frameworks, such as bloodline, nationality, gender and class, are intricately articulated and negotiated with racial categories to deconstruct the notion of a "multicultural Korea" as shaped by Korean mass media.

3.1 The Hines Ward Moment as Korean Televisual Media Event

Articulating the Hines Ward Moment

As elaborated in Chapter 2, mixed-race people have been hugely underrepresented in the Korean mass media due to their (racial) otherness. Although there have been a few mixed-race figures in Korean popular culture, none of them was able to be a national star; the industrial structure of that time made it even harder for them to be on television. Even when these representations appear, it is not surprising to see oppressive images on the screen because mixed-race individuals used to be thought of as the children of a Korean female prostitute (known as *Yanggongju*) and an American father. For instance, in films such as *The Flower in Hell* (1958), *The Silver Stallion Never Return* (1991), and *Address Unknown* (2001), where the relations among American soldiers, Korean female prostitutes, and their mixed-race children are particularly considered, Korean female prostitutes and their mixed-race children were represented as either evil or violent, and, therefore, othered in Korean society (Koh, 2009).

In this socio-cultural context, it was certainly a monumental event when Hines Ward, a black mixed-race Korean with American citizenship, became a national star and was represented as a national hero by the Korean media in 2006. There had been no one like him in the entire history of Korean television. That Hines Ward became an emblematic mixed-race media figure in Korea is important to note because it shows how the Korean media as an ideological apparatus articulates and circulates the narratives and

stories about Hines Ward and creates a discursive space for nations to engage with and talk about the issues surrounding race and Koreanness.

It is remarkable that the number of newspaper articles related to Hines Ward soared from February 2006, when Hines Ward was named MVP, to April when he visited Korea. Using the Korean newspaper search engine, KINDS, I searched newspaper articles on Hines Ward. The result indicates that, within three months (February to April, 2006), the newspaper articles that included "Hines Ward" in the title totaled 123, and 540 contained the word "Hines Ward" either in the title of the article or in the content. This volume of articles within three months is especially significant when we compare it to the number of newspaper articles about Hines Ward three months before the event. From November 2005 to Janaury 2006, there were only 5 articles with "Hines Ward" in the title, and only 20 contained the word Hines Ward either in the title of the article or in the content. These numbers clearly illustrate how much the media paid close attention to his "return" to Korea and the extent to which the Himes Ward moment was discussed at a national scale.

Echoing the newspaper fever on Hines Ward, television broadcasting played a pivotal role in making the Hines Ward moment into a media event. Specifically talking about the televisual landscape, his image as a successful football star who made a glorious return was projected and (re)produced on the television screen through various programs. In addition, his personal history and success as a black mixed-race athlete in the US was reproduced over and over again through various channels. These visual images vividly depict his blackness as a marker of racial otherness (as well as a new Koreanness). Because it was the first time ever in Korean television that the black body was represented with honor and respect, the Hines Ward moment is essential to understanding the racial reconfiguration in the Korean televisual landscape. In the same

vein, the Hines Ward case has provided such an ample cultural resource because it tackles and unpacks formerly unspoken (unspeakable) matters of mixed-race identity and racism in Korea (T. Lim, 2009). As G. Kim (2011) puts it, the Hines Ward case is "a site of discursive practices where Korea's national/cultural identity was negotiated" (p. 102).

Due to the significant impact of Hines Ward's visit on Korean society, the case was labeled either "The Hines Ward symptom" (M. Lee, 2008) or "the Hines Ward syndrome" (Jun & Lee, 2012; G. Kim, 2011; T. Lim, 2009) by the Korean media and scholars. Although agreeing with the connotations of these expressions, I prefer the term "the Hines Ward moment" as it puts more emphasis on the *conditions* that the event creates for the Korean society, whereas symptom or syndrome emphasizes its superficial (sensational) implications. One step further, I believe it is the "moment" of articulation, led by the Korean media and the government, which needs to be analyzed to investigate what the Hines Ward fever meant to Korean society. By examining the modes of articulation in the case of the Hines Ward moment, I aim to deconstruct the discursive explosion of multiculturalism initiated by the Hines Ward case and what this explosion means to Korean society.

One important point to be addressed about this Hines Ward moment is that it is a "media event" created by the Korean media as a way to regulate or re-mediate social/racial relations in Korean society. Exemplifying various types of live television broadcasting, such as the Olympic Games and John F. Kennedy's funeral, Dayan and Katz (1992) use the term media event to explain how a particular event is carefully calculated, scripted and celebrated by the media to unite the society.[9] In other words, live broadcasting of historical events produces visual spectacles for general audiences to

[9] Dayan and Katz (1992) define the characteristics of media events as such: "Syntactically, media events may be characterized, first, by our elements of interruption, monopoly, being broadcast live, and being remote" (p. 10).

relate and share collective memories. Following Dayan and Katz's argument, I also claim that the Hines Ward moment is one example of the media events produced by the complex of the Korean media, state, and citizens.

The most obvious characteristic of media events is that they are "*interruptions* of routine" (Dayan & Katz, 1992, p. 5, emphasis in original), which means they break the flow of regularly scheduled programming and prioritize these special events. Hines Ward's MVP-win and his visit to Korea together with his mother can be seen as a media event because this event became newsworthy in the eyes of the Korean media. His every move and word was "lively" (another important feature of media events) — i.e., broadcast on the news programs and published in every newspaper in Korea, halting regular broadcasting and reportage.

All three terrestrial television networks' news programs on the day of Ward's arrival on April 3, 2006 broadcast and featured his success as an MVP-awarded player in the American National Football League. They covered Hines Ward and his mother's visit to Korea as headline news and spent more than ten minutes introducing his story. According to the media criticism (Jeong, 2006), MBC was the most ardent follower of Hines Ward news as it featured six segments covering the Hines Ward story within a one-hour news program. Moreover, MBC scheduled a television talk show, *Together with Super Bowl Hero Hines Ward*, on April 8 because they believed it would boost ratings. It was not only MBC but other networks as well that programmed Hines Ward-focused television documentaries and talk shows to call attention to biracial issues in Korea. KBS, for instance, immediately changed its programming schedule and allocated a one-hour time slot for the Hines Ward documentary, *Hines Ward and His Korean Mother Take over the Super Bowl*, right after he was nominated for MVP; the network also re-broadcast the previous documentary aired in 1998, *Korean Mother and Black Son Hines*

Ward, as a serial. These unusual and exceptional broadcasting programming practices by the national networks clearly demonstrate the nature of the Hines Ward case as a media event.

More importantly, it is worthwhile to note that the Hines Ward moment as a media event re-arranges social relations, particularly in this case, racial relations. The discourse around him proliferated because it was articulated with the upcoming social agenda of multiculturalism. The media's rhetoric of "Korea is now becoming a multicultural society" boosted the social debate on multiculturalism in general, especially supported by the statistical data of an increasing number of migrants in Korea along with the media's appropriation of Hines Ward's image as a successful mixed-race Korean (T. Lim, 2009). It is in this sense that the Hines Ward moment encapsulates a critical moment for Korean society in terms of racial relations because it enabled the articulation of tensions over some crucial social changes. For instance, it initiated the enactment of multiculturalism policy, such as "A plan for promoting the social integration of mixed-race and immigrants" announced in April 2006.

At this moment, the articulation between media and governmental institutions is crucial when considering media events, because media institutions together with public/governmental institutions and audiences are the active subjects that produce media events (see Dayan & Katz, 1992). Specifically, under the section titled "Improving Social Awareness on Mixed-Race People" in the policy document "A plan for promoting the social integration of mixed-race and immigrants," there is a subsection discussing how the Korean governmental institutions should use the media as a way to reconcile social conflicts and improve social awareness of a multicultural society (see Table 4).

2-3. Improving the nation's multicultural sensitivity through social education

[…]

(4) Conducting PR to promote public awareness (April to June)

- The improvement of social consciousness of deep-rooted discrimination against racial others (such as an idea of "pure blood") is a crucial element for social integration of mixed-race and migrants.
- It is necessary to sustain public concern on multiculturalism heightened by Hines Ward's Super Bowl MVP win and his visit to Korea
  - ✓ Use the Hines Ward case as a turning point to improve national awareness

< A Proposal for Intensive Multicultural PR>

1. **Hosting Presidential & ministerial events (April-May)**
   - Greeting Hines Ward and his mother (4/4), Visiting weekend-market of Filipino community (April)
   - Visiting mixed-race related site/event (May), Hosting Andre Kim's charity fashion show (June)
2. **Broadcasting special programs & reports and releasing newspaper feature articles (May to present)**
   - K-TV *The Power to Change the World, the Blue Government*; Youth debate (May 1st)
   - KBS-1TV: *Love in Asia* (May-June); 4 consecutive series on multicultural society
   - MBC-Radio: Utilizing *The Radio Era is Now* (May)
   - Publishing feature articles on mixed-race and multicultural society (April-June)
3. **Releasing public campaign and promotional materials | Appointing honorary ambassador (June to present)**
   - Publishing public campaign and promotional materials themed on discrimination against mixed-race people and multicultural, open society
   - Appointing famous celebrities as 'multicultural honorary ambassadors'

[…]

Table 4: A section on media in "A plan for promoting the social integration of mixed-race and immigrants" (2006)

Focusing on the televisual landscape, that Hines Ward made several television commercials during his short visit to Korea should also be highlighted as it illustrates how the Korean media commercialized his image and made him marketable. It is significant because his blackness together with his global success were considered desirable and sellable in the Korean marketplace. According to the newspaper article titled "On Hines Ward's First Night Home - Service Comparable to a National Guest Attracted Attention" (H. J. Park, 2006), every single product that he used, wore, and ate during the visit was promoted or funded by giant corporations in Korea. The fact that every single service provided to him was comparable to a national guest demonstrates how influential he was in terms of advertising effects. Because his every move was on the air like top celebrities, advertising sponsors realized that everything related to him would be marketable so that they used him as an advertising strategy. As one journalist put it, he was truly a "walking billboard" (H. S. Kim, 2006). This commercial appropriation of Hines Ward rightly pictures how the Korean television utilized his blackness and fame as a way to celebrate multiculturalism. In short, I argue that the Korean media incorporated Hines Ward's image as a way to envision a multicultural Korea, and this appropriation created a critical cultural moment at that particular time in 2006: what I call the Hines Ward moment.

Reading Hines Ward as a Cultural Sign

According to Holmes and Redmond (2006, 2010), editors of the journal *Celebrity Studies,* celebrity studies is not just about an individual heroic image or a commodity sellable to the global market, but it also indicates the changes in communication technology, expansion of the media industry, and shifts in social values. Thus, celebrities are not about their individual ability or fame, but rather about a socially constructed

discursive formation (Dyer, 1998; Turner, 2004). More specifically, Richard Dyer's (1998) groundbreaking work on studying celebrities closely examines film stars as a cultural text and contextualizes them within the ideological and discursive implications of the time through semiotic analysis. Agreeing that celebrities are discursive effects and taking it one step further, Joshua Gamson (1994) and Graeme Turner (2004) argue that celebrities also need to be considered in the context of production and consumption of the contemporary media culture and industry.

Given the cultural significance of what the case brought about for the Korean society, I do acknowledge that the Hines Ward moment has created a discursive space for the untold matter of mixed-race and racial relations in Korea. However, at this moment, I should emphasize that it is *not* Hines Ward as a single person who made this change possible. In other words, even though this case is powerful and significant enough to be called the Hines Ward moment (and, as I described above, it is certain that the cultural scene has changed a great deal after the event), I certainly disagree with the idea that everything has changed *because of* him. It is not the matter of an individual *per se*, but rather a matter of discourse, systematically articulated through a certain social logic that (re)structures social relations. My interest is not in Hines Ward's "personal accountability," but rather "conglomerate interests informing his iconography" (Perez, 2005, p. 224). Hence, the whole discussion is not about Hines Ward himself as an individual, but rather about him as a "signifier" or his symbolic status as a successful "myth." What becomes important now is to see how the media appropriated him (i.e., his multiple dimensions, such as his race, gender, and class) and what this symbolic myth signifies for Korean society.

Considering that the Hines Ward moment was a monumental media event in terms of racial politics in Korean society, it is surprising that the case has never been a

serious topic for an academic discussion. The exceptions are S. Y. Kim (2006)'s study on the ideological/discursive practice around Hines Ward, Jun and Lee (2012)'s research globalizing Korean sports and the role of journalists in the case of Hines Ward, and Gage (2007)'s anthropologist study on Amerasians.[10] Although there have been several studies that exemplify the Hines Ward case as a way to illustrate racial reconfiguration in contemporary Korea (G.-S. Han, 2007; K.-K. Han, 2007; M. K. Jung, 2009; H. M. Kim, 2007; H.-E. Lee, 2009; M. Lee, 2008; T. Lim, 2009, 2010), most of them fail to discuss its social and culture significance and its relation to media as an ideological apparatus. It is in this context that this chapter makes a contribution as it closely reads the Hines Ward case to study how the media create a discursive and visual space for negotiating national identity and reformulating racial relations among Koreans. In other words, I read the Hines Ward moment as a symptom of cultural change (Turner, 2004, p. 5).

Referring to articulation theory (Lawrence Grossberg, 1996; Slack, 1996), I argue that the Hines Ward moment can be understood in terms of its articulation to other discourses and dimensions. So to speak, Hines Ward became an emblematic media/culture figure in 2006 because Korean society, at that period of time, needed his image for several different reasons. There was a need of this symbolic figure to reshape and redefine the racial relations in Korean society, and Hines Ward was there at the right time and the right place to be articulated as an emblematic figure for imagining a new, multicultural Korea. Hence, it is the modes of articulation that have to be analyzed: what brought Korean society to this Hines Ward moment, and how did it attain a mythical,

[10] To briefly introduce those studies: S. Y. Kim (2006) critically reads the Hines Ward as a mythical text and argues that it provides a (new) field of cultural politics that combines racial antagonism and social integration, while Gage (2007) contextualizes Hines Ward in a broader historical and cultural context of Amerasians in Korea and uses his case as a way to talk about Amerasians' multiple and hybrid identity. Focusing more on globalization of sports, Jun and Lee (2012) examines how sports can be a cultural vehicle for expressing Korean national identity in the era of globalization.

symbolic status in Korean society? To put it another way, I believe Hines Ward as a symbol or a myth should be deconstructed or decoded to see what this Hines Ward moment meant for the Korean nation. Therefore, the question that I would pose here is what this passionate embracement of Hines Ward means and how he became a symbol of a multicultural society and social integration. Anchoring the Hines Ward text at the center of this chapter, in the following sections, I will discuss the ideological implications and discursive practice of black mixed-race celebrities and figures in contemporary Korean commercial television.

3.2 Deconstructing the Hines Ward Moment: Narrating the Past through a Vision of the Future

Since the Hines Ward case as a symbolic myth has multiple layers to unpack, it requires careful examination from various perspectives. It is crucial to deconstruct the Hines Ward moment for it reveals how the category of mixed-race (re)mediates and (re)shapes pre-existing racial and social relations. One of the most essential practices that the Hines Ward myth carries out is that it rearticulates the meaning of mixed-race in the era of globalization and multiculturalism. In other words, the cultural meaning of mixed-race today has been changed from that in the past, and the Hines Ward moment generated by the Korean media mediates this change.

The discursive practice of the Hines Ward moment acquires its mythical status by successfully accomplishing two different acts. First of all, it erases the racist past. That Ward himself falls under the first generation of mixed-race individuals is important because his visual image as a black mixed-race body not only represents his blackness and half-Koreanness but also encapsulates Korean's modern history of racism. For instance, his personal history/background and the hardships his mother had to overcome

as a mother of a black mixed-race child were ceaselessly reproduced and narrated by the television interviews, talk shows, and newspapers. It is well known that his mother worked as a waitress at a night club in the US military camp town in Seoul in the 1970s where she first met Hines Ward Senior, an American soldier and the father of Hines Ward. They married, gave birth to Hines Ward, and moved to the US when Hines Ward was only a one-year-old boy. But they divorced after they came to the US, and Kim Young-Hee, his mother, had to survive there by herself with her young child. She thought of going back to Korea, but she didn't return because she knew what it would be like to live as a mixed-race person in Korea. In the interview, Kim Young-Hee described how much she suffered only because of the fact that she was married to a black man (S. J. Moon, 2006). In addition, in the television program, *Korean Mother and Black Son Hines Ward* (KBS-1, 1998), she confessed that she had to move to the US because her family was ashamed of her and her son for his black skin color. Hence, even after she moved to the US, her marriage to a black American was treated as a secret among her family members. This personal history of Hines Ward and Kim Young-Hee accurately captures the racial discrimination and state racism that mixed-race people had to face in the 1970s and 1980s.

In this context, it means a lot when the media capture the moment of his visit to Korea and frame it with a phrase like "Hines Ward 'returns' back to 'mother's country' with success" (J. S. Jeon & Park, 2006). On one level, it means the *return of* the repressed. As I have elaborated in the previous chapters, the black mixed-race population were hugely neglected and underrepresented because of their otherness. What the Hines Ward myth did, first of all, was recall the mixed-race individuals who have been invisible and voiceless in Korean history. Whether it was positive or not, it is meaningful that the Hines Ward moment opened up a representational space for Amerasians, especially for

black mixed-race people, who have been underrepresented and repressed throughout the Korean history. On another level, Hines Ward's return also designates where he is coming from. In other words, it is the *return to* where he was "originally from." Of course the original homeland here is Korea, although, ironically, this place is one that he had no choice but to leave as a mixed-race child about thirty years ago.

The point here, as explained in Chapter 2, is that there has been a tradition of repressing racial others, including mixed-race people, for a long time in Korean history. The existence of mixed-race people in the 1960s through the 1970s, symbolically speaking, indicates the incompetency or failure of the Korean modern nation-state (see M. Lee, 2008, p. 74). In other words, Korea as a modern nation-state was not able to protect Korea as a "pure" nation because of the foreign invasion symbolized by the US military camps in the heart of Seoul. In terms of gender politics, the inability to secure the nation through its own efforts was considered shameful for its lack of masculine power because the (masculine) nation was not able to protect its female citizens from the foreign power (M. Lee, 2008, p. 65). It is particularly true considering Korean history because the prostitution industry for US soldiers flourished at that time, and it was interpreted that the Korean female body was conquered and abused by the foreign male. In this sense, mixed-race children of Korean female prostitutes and American soldiers, were seen as, in Julia Kristeva's (1982) term, an "abject" (see M. Lee, 2008) and/or a "homo sacer" in Giorgio Agamben's (1998) term in the sense that they were absolutely excluded from the national imaginary. Put differently, inscribed on the body, mixed-race people represent absolute alienation and otherness as well as a threat to national unity. Therefore, their existence itself had to be eliminated from the official national history.

However, the cultural meaning of mixed-race figures has changed in the era of globalization and hybridization today. Korea has also experienced the rise of immigrants

and racial others and has had to find a way to integrate them. At this moment, what the discursive formation of Hines Ward did was to issue an "indulgence" for the shameful past. By welcoming a black mixed-race individual, Hines Ward, Korean society tries to hide and erase its ugly racist past. Through bracketing the racist past, what the Korean society desires is to move forward and to become one of the members of the global and multicultural frontier. It is resonant with what Perez, following Roger Bromley, calls "organized forgetting" (Perez, 2005, p. 242). Analyzing Tiger Woods' multiraciality, he argues, "The celebration of Tiger Woods as the embodiment of American multiculturalism and racial democracy institutes an instance of 'organized forgetting'" (Perez, 2005, p. 226). In other words, celebrating Tiger Woods' success and multiraciality de-historicizes America's racist past, such as its history of the one-drop rule and anti-miscegenation. Instead, it presents an ideal image of a new America, a multicultural America, by saying that those racist historical events in the past do not matter anymore as America is moving forward to another phrase in its history. I believe, in this context, Michael Richards' (2000) remark on the relation between television and national identity advances our discussion further by bridging past and future:

> Bhabha (1990) has suggested that the continuing renewal of national identity requires a form of forgetting past origins, ethnicities and places, and there is no doubt that television has been implicated in both denying and suppressing the past, as well as in extracting preferred features of national identity and using them to reconstitute the present and its relationship to the future (Richards, 2000, p. 34).

Taking the ideological function of Hines Ward in relation to state racism in the past, the Hines Ward myth does two contradictory but complementary jobs at the same time: first, it recalls the repressed subjects, mixed-race people who were underrepresented and voiceless throughout the decades, and it provides a formal opportunity for "pure blood" (or "full blood") Koreans to apologize for their racist past by enthusiastically

welcoming Hines Ward, a symbol of the formerly oppressed subject. This celebration of the Hines Ward moment by the complex of the Korean media, state, and audiences as a media event, however, is ironic. This "apology" from the Korean society is unilateral in that it was not accepted/heard by the "real" mixed-race people who had to face state racism for several decades. In contrast to the nation's warm welcome, in fact, mixed-race people have had a lukewarm reaction towards Hines Ward's "homecoming" event and society's celebration because, according to the interviews in the newspaper articles, they sense that this event has nothing to do with their real lives (J. H. Han, Hur, & Jo, 2006; J. S. Lim & Song, 2007).

Given that Hines Ward was exalted as a symbolic figure by the Korean media, the following question should be asked: why does it particularly have to be Hines Ward, despite the fact that there have existed other mixed-race celebrities even before the Hines Ward moment? It is certain that none of the previously mixed-race celebrities was either celebrated as much as Hines Ward or created a (social) sensation as much as the Hines Ward case did. The way Hines Ward was articulated at the moment is different from any other mixed-race celebrities so far. Many mixed-race celebrities and media figures, such as Daniel Henney, Denis Oh, and Jennifer Young, all white mixed-race, have existed even before the Hines Ward moment but were not able to generate the discursive space and televisual space that the Hines Ward moment did. That is because their whiteness gets articulated with a hip-and-cool, transnational image so that it has little association with state racism in the past, which I will discuss in Chapter 4, whereas Hines Ward himself, as described above, represents the first generation of mixed-race individuals who had to confront harsh state racism.

To explore the particular modes of articulation of Hines Ward, I believe comparing Hines Ward with another black mixed-race person, female singer and

celebrity Insooni, would provide some critical insights. Born in 1957 to a Korean mother and a black American father, Insooni, as well as Hines Ward, exactly falls under the first-generation mixed-race category. Despite this similarity, how they are articulated and represented in the Korean society draws on a hugely different map of discourse as well as modes of articulation due to several significant differences. This explains why, even though Insooni is another black mixed-race celebrity like Hines Ward who embeds Korea's racist past, she has not been able to acquire mythical status as Hines Ward did.

One of the most obvious and visible differences between the two is gender. Although it is not the only factor, their gender difference explains why Ward's (male) black body was more acceptable as a symbol of multicultural society than Inooni's (female) one. I believe this selective preference on Hines Ward indicates the gendered nature of nation-state because, as I have described in Chapter 2, national pride is expressed through masculine power, such as military forces. It is in this sense that the weakening of national sovereignty is oftentimes represented as (symbolic) emasculation of male subjects in the literature (Weldy, 2003). In the same vein, that Ward is a male athlete who was awarded an MVP in one of the manliest sports, football, in the American Super Bowl, is a typical way to express national pride, riding on his powerful, strong bodily images as a black athlete. It is crucial to point out that his black masculinity even stands out because it is tied with "the widespread global commodification of American black masculinity in the arenas of sports and entertainment" (Parameswaran, 2009, p. 199). Hence, his blackness is not at all shameful as it was in the modern Korean past, but is a marker of strong masculinity through its articulation with the globally spread notion of black athletes' excellence in sports. In this moment, his black body, together with his Americanness, becomes a primary articulator that recalls globally famous American sports celebrities, such as Michael Jordan, Dennis Rodman, and Kobe Bryant,

disconnecting from Korea's racist past. At the same time, it is also interesting to compare him with other Korean-American actress/celebrities, such as Moon Bloodgood and Ursula Mayes (both mixed-race females). Although both Bloodgood and Mayes have built a successful career as Hollywood stars in America and have also visited Korea, their visit was not as "hyped" as the Hines Ward moment, which (indirectly) indicates that the articulation/combination of Americanness-blackness-male of Hines Ward made the media hype possible.

Other than their gender difference, the most obvious and significant difference between these two figures is that Insooni is a Korean whereas Hines Wars is an American in terms of their nationality. This detail reveals how great a difference there is between the paths they have gone through in their lives. For instance, Insooni is a (native) Korean who spent her entire life in Korea, built her career as a singer from the amusement district nearby the camp town in the 1970s and the 1980s, and after all survived through the tough circumstances in the Korean entertainment system. In contrast, Hines Ward is an American who was born in Korea, but soon migrated to the US and obtained American citizenship, and spent his whole life in the States. Hence, even though they share the same characteristics, such as half-Koreanness by their blood line and dark skin color, they embody totally different cultural meanings of what it means to be black and Korean due to their different background and nationality. Based on their nationality, if we agree that Insooni is "more" Korean than Hines Ward, then, the question is: why did Hines Ward, not Insooni, become a symbol of social integration? What is the cultural/ideological logic behind it?

I would argue that Hines Ward's "Americanness" attached to his "Korean" body (or blood) plays a crucial role. That he is a "successful (Korean)-American returnee" from one of the most "advanced" societies in the world becomes pivotal for him to be a

mythical text that stands for social/racial integration in contemporary Korea. In other words, it is this particular combination of factors that leads to his celebration. That he is a successful returnee is significant because his unexpected award-winning in the US characterizes the case as a media event in Korea in the sense that, unlike Insooni, the case was unexpected and an interruption of routine (Dayan & Katz, 1992).

The value attached to him as a successful Korean-American returnee is that he, as a black mixed-race man, made honorable success in America through his enormous effort. In other words, he is a living testament to the "American Dream" as he was awarded MVP by the most prestigious American football league. Regardless of his race and skin color, that he accomplished a great success in American society sends the message to the Korean nation that this is what social awareness in an "advanced" society looks like: human beings should not be discriminated against based on their race or skin color. In this sense, the ardent celebration of Hines Ward's glorious return signifies Korea's national desire to be a more open and advanced society. More specifically, it connotes that Korea, too, welcomes racial diversity and will move forward to be a more open and global society where mixed-race people and racial minorities can achieve success as Hines Ward did in the US. In other words, the Korean media embraces his image of Americanness and globalism.

To move forward, one urgent issue that Korea has to deal with is its racist past. As described in Chapter 2, the matter of state racism in the early modern period is too serious to be glossed over. It explains why, even though Insooni can also be viewed as a successful mixed-race role model, she has not been able to become a mythical mixed-race "national hero" like Hines Ward. That is because she grew up and spent her entire life in Korea, which means she is well aware of Korea's racist past. In other words, her body as well as her personal history is the embodiment of the social structural racism in Korea.

As she said in several interviews, Insooni had to give up her high school degree not only because of her family's poor economic status, but also because of racial discrimination and alienation that she experienced as a mixed-race woman in Korea. In addition, it is a well-known anecdote that Insooni was forbidden to be on air only because of her (innate) curly hair so that she had to cover it with a hat or scarf. Given the cultural and political atmosphere of the 1970s that I have described in the previous chapter, this racial discrimination towards black mixed-race people was considered natural because their difference was seen as "something wrong" or a "threat." For this reason, Insooni confessed that she gave birth to her daughter in the US, ensuring her American citizenship, because she did not want her baby to experience the same discrimination as in Korea (Kim-Ko, 2006). It is exactly the same reason why Hines Ward's mother decided to migrate to the US with her one-year-old son. Given the context, in one interview with a mixed-race Korean about the Hines Ward moment, Mr. Bae, the chair of the Korea Federation of International Families and a black mixed-race man himself, says that he feels prouder of Insooni than Hines Ward because he knows very well the hardships that Insooni has had to fight against to be a successful black mixed-race singer in Korea (J. S. Lim & Song, 2007).

In contrast, Hines Ward does not have any sort of racist memory, at least about Korea, because of his early immigration. On Hines Ward's record, there is nothing to be erased in terms of the Korean racist past except for his birth to a Korean mother and a black American father and his early immigration. Instead, the racism that he had to fight against was American racism. According to an interview with *Asian American Policy Review,* Ward expresses the frustration that he experienced as a black mixed-race child in America as follows:

> *Growing up with a mom who did not speak much English and who did not look American was very frustrating at times. 1 was even more frustrated and saddened when 1 was called names because 1 did not look like a full-blooded African or Korean-American kid* (S. Lee, 2007, p. 20).

On the other hand, on Insooni's personal record, there are plenty instances of racism that she has experienced as a black mixed-race figure through her entire life in Korea, which means there are "too many" lists to be erased or unraveled to envision a new future for Korea. Thus, Insooni is not a proper object on which the Korean media might project its desire. Instead, to get away from the racist past, the Korean media selectively promotes Hines Ward's particular images for its own sake: it appropriates his blackness to reconcile the racist past and his Americanness. This, in turn, allows the media to project the national desire to be global.

Other than recalling formerly repressed (black) mixed-race subjects in Korean history and paying off racist "sins" from the past, the Hines Ward moment enables one more ideological practice that is complementary to the first one. The ideological construction of the Hines Ward moment not only interpellates the black mixed-race person from the past, but also speaks to Asian mixed-race person who will be the "major problem" in terms of racial/national unity in the near future as the Asian mixed-race population is dramatically increasing these days. The Hines Ward myth sends such an (ideological) message to the mixed-race people in Korea as "You (the mixed-race people) can be like me (Hines Ward), if you work hard whatever your situation" or "We (the Korean society) will treat you just like Hines Ward as long as you remain a faithful and successful Korean." In other words, the Hines Ward myth fantasizes the "Korean Dream" for the Asian mixed-race people as well as other racial minorities, such as migrant workers, ethnic-Chinese, and Korean-Chinese. More importantly, it is ideological in that it obscures the issue of social structure, such as class, that mixed-race Koreans are now

facing and only promises "rosy" pictures by exemplifying Hines Ward's success. As S. Y. Kim (2006, p. 323) rightly argues, the ideological implication of the Hines Ward moment is that it conceals class/race antagonism between (full blood) Koreans and mixed-race Koreans because, in reality most mixed-race people would fall under lower working-class status, taking over low-paid hard-labor jobs. Therefore, in short, what the Hines Ward moment as a signifier of social integration and a symbol of a new Korea achieves is, first of all, reconciling the racist past and, secondly, envisioning the multicultural future through the media's massive welcoming of this black mixed-race figure. In other words, the national celebration of Hines Ward successfully sutures the gap between the racist past and the multicultural future.

One television commercial featuring Hines Ward effectively demonstrates how the Hines Ward myth conducts its ideological practices.[11] The ad is worth analyzing in detail because it visually encapsulates how the myth projects the image of a new Korea. In the ad, he plays a role as a symbol of social integration. It starts with Hines Ward practicing/playing football in the playground, presumably somewhere in the US. The scene shows that he is playing football with peers from diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds, which shows a snapshot of coexistence and cooperation. In the cheering section, one boy, presumably a Korean, is holding a placard saying "Go Hines Ward, Victory." A white, blond-haired boy next to him is cheering Hines Ward as well, which presents the multicultural/multiracial future of Korea. In the following scene, Hines Ward is running through the city and heading somewhere else holding a football followed by the narration saying, "When he feels down and weary, he is rushing there." Then, he stops at the front of Korean Exchange Bank. The commercial ends with the narration, "Embracing Korea,

[11] To watch the full video, please go to http://013.tg5050000000000000000000000000.com/100032960998

(he is or we are) running toward the world." As described, this short commercial well encapsulates what the Hines Ward myth accomplishes: it envisions a multicultural, cosmopolitan Korea.

Together with the fact that the spaces shown in the ad are all somewhere in a cosmopolitan city, one interesting point to discuss is that the narrator in the ad is a "full blood" Korean actor, Ji Jin Hee, who narrates *for* Hines Ward, speaking *to* Korean audiences. It signifies from whom and to whom the message of a cosmopolitan, multicultural Korea is being sent and circulated. Just as Perez (2005) demonstrates that Nike's "I am Tiger Woods" commercial series utilizes his multiraciality as a way to project the ideal for multiculturalism and a color-blind society in the US, Ward's commercial, too, envisions a cosmopolitan, open, new Korea, appropriating his success as a black mixed-race Korean. This new, multicultural Korean narrative is also supported by Ward's own interview with the Korean press:

> Underscoring the importance of acceptance against prejudice, Ward said, "*This world is not one race, we are all living in a melting pot*. You can learn a lot from some else's culture." (J.-H. Lee, 2006, emphasis added)

In short, the Hines Ward case puts the racist past and current racism in brackets and functions as a signifier of social integration for a multicultural, global Korea. By complicating and welcoming the issue of race and nationality, the case signals, at least to the world, the increase of hybridity in Korean society, which in turn indicates that Korea is now entering into the transnational, global (cultural) economy (M. K. Jung, 2009). Hence, if we agree that the visual representation of black mixed-race figures, for better or worse, connotes a change in the ways in which we imagine what it means to be a Korean in the global era, we need to closely look at how Koreanness is reshaped and redefined, which I shall investigate in depth in the following section.

3.3 THE KOREAN "ONE DROP RULE": THE STRUGGLE FOR A (NEW) KOREANNESS

Blood has long worked as a powerful metaphor as well as a social apparatus for imagining a racial boundary in many countries/regions in the world. (F. J. Davis, 1992; Hollinger, 2011; Sturm, 2002; Wilson, 1992). Experiencing the history of massive migration of Africans, colonialism, and slavery, America had practiced the very well known racial categorization system, the "one-drop rule" or hypodescent, which means anyone who shares even "one drop of black blood (one-thirty-second)" is considered black regardless of one's physical appearance. Until 1967, the year the *Loving vs. Virginia* case abolished the rule, the one-drop rule had functioned as a major racial classification system in America. As scholars have pointed out (F. J. Davis, 1992; Nakashima, 1992; Wilson, 1992), hypodescent perpetuated the notion of "pure blood" and "pure white." In other words, the one-drop rule was a means of the dominant ruling class's desire to keep the American nation white. However, interestingly enough, the one-drop rule also provided "a firm black identity for most African Americans" until the 1970s, even if they were half white (F. J. Davis, 1992, p. 125), because it rendered purity for blackness as well as strengthened group cohesion for the black community (Kimberly, 2009). Along the same lines, interracial marriage or miscegenation was prohibited by the law because it was seen as a threat to racial purity (Nakashima, 1992). These racial laws and classification system vividly illustrate how the blood constructs racial hierarchy in American society, although Hawaii had an alternative racial categorization compared to the mainland, balancing between egalitarian pluralism and assimilation (F. J. Davis, 1992, p. 131)

Meanwhile, other than black-white blood politics, Native-American societies as well have experienced a distinctive historical and cultural background of blood politics. Wilson's (1992) piece on Native-American mixed-bloods demonstrates how the rule of

blood quantum has operated to distinguish and separate mixed-blood Native Americans from the full-bloods. In the Native-American society, mixed-blood represents "second-class Indianness" or "other Indian status" (Wilson, 1992, p. 123). Put differently, "accepting the notion that a lesser blood quantum somehow determines the degree of Indianness" (Wilson, 1992, p. 123). Among Native-American tribes, in her ethnographic research on the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, Sturm (2002) explores the identity construction of the Cherokee by complicating the issues of blood, race, and nation. She especially argues that the blood has always been a central metaphor for Cherokees' life and for shaping their ethnonationalism.

Although the meaning and the working of the blood metaphor differ depending on (national) historical and cultural context, it is important to address that the blood metaphor, as exemplified by the American case, has played an essential role in imagining a united national identity as well as shaping the racial order in a certain society. Despite differences in the ways in which the blood apparatus works, Korea, too, has used the blood metaphor for imagining a racially homogenous country (K.-K. Han, 2007; M. Lee, 2008; T. Lim, 2009). The catch phrase "One nation (people), one blood (*hanminjok hanpitjul*)" well encapsulates how the bloodline works as a mechanism that draws a boundary of inclusion and exclusion for what Koreanness has meant. The birth of strong ethnic nationalism in Korea was the moment of articulating (one) nation with (one) race/ethnicity. If someone is a full-blood, s/he is considered a "full" Korean whereas "mixed-blood"[12] is located outside of the imagined boundary of the (ethnic) nation. To put it differently, "Koreanness is believed to be transferred in the blood, as long as the blood is considered 'pure' Korean blood" (Gage, 2007, p. 55). Here, the bloodline works

[12] I prefer the term mixed-blood to mixed-race in this context because it specifically designates the Korean cultural/historical context of utilizing the blood metaphor to indicate mixed people.

as a fine line that determines who the "pure" Korean is and who is not. Based on this logic, mixed-blood(ness) used to be a marker of total otherness.

Given that the blood has operated as a powerful metaphor for imagining what constitutes Koreanness, the category of mixed-blood is a theoretically important framework not only to navigate its in-between identity, but also to investigate the flexible nature of these imagined boundaries such as nation and citizen (Bhabha, 1994; Nakashima, 1992; Wilson, 1992). Particularly, it is important to see how the blood matrix transgresses what used to be rigid racial boundaries in Korean society. Hence, reading Hines Ward as a way to complicate the issue of nationality, bloodline, and racial categorization is meaningful because it leads to the deconstruction of the myth of the monoracial nation.

As I have elaborated in the section above, despite his American nationality, Hines Ward was enthusiastically accepted and appropriated by the Korean media as a proud Korean due to his Korean heritage by his blood tie. This response was unexpected because, in the past, mixed-race people were excluded from the national imaginary of a racially homogeneous country due to their non-Korean heritage by bloodline. However, at this time with Hines Ward, his (half-Korean) bloodline works as a mechanism for inclusion. As one critic rightly puts it (Ro, 2006), "Ward became a celebrity for the same reason that biracial Koreans are ostracized." The situation reveals the hypocrisy of the current face of Korean multiculturalism because it proclaims we, the Koreans, accept mixed-race Koreans *only if* they are successful and proud. I would argue that this conditional acceptance is a Korean version of the "one-drop rule."

The Hines Ward case perfectly exemplifies what this Korean one-drop rule is about. The case reveals that the logic of who falls within and outside of the national boundary based on one's bloodline is totally arbitrary. What I mean is, if someone is

successful enough and stays faithful to the Korean nation, then, his/her mixed-raceness does not matter. Even "one-drop of Korean blood" is enough to be a Korean. In this sense, Hines Ward's "half" Korean blood, despite his American nationality and dark skin color, is just enough to be a Korean. However, it is ironic because Insooni, with the same racial background as Ward, has long been disregarded by Korean audiences for the very same reason that Hines Ward was praised - his "half Koreanness" and "blackness." In the same vein, the journalist below criticizes the Korean media's appropriation of the narrative of blood as a way to praise Hines Ward's successful return:

> For many Koreans, Ward's half-Korean heritage was enough to make him the darling son of Korea. Some even remarked that he was "a Korean at heart." The reality for the majority of biracial Koreans is that half is not nearly enough. The stigma placed on biracial Koreans is that they are not Korean. In many Koreans' eyes, one must be a full-blooded Korean to be a Korean (Ro, 2006).

Taking it one step further, another newspaper article, titled "Black Korean Hines Ward's Touching Story: 'Korean Blood' Writes American Dream," uses the blood metaphor to incorporate his half-Koreanness and to generate a new national imagery:

> "I'm a half-Korean. I will do my best for the Korean community." "*My (Korean) mother's blood flows in my body*," emphasized Ward. […] Although Ward, with an athlete's high speed and instinct, has a different color skin, *the hot Korean blood* flows in his body (S. J. Moon, 2006, emphasis added)

Shown above, blood is exactly working as an apparatus that delineates national identity. The Korean media interpellates him as a Korean based on the fact that his mother is a full-blood Korean, which explains where the "original root" of his Korean heritage is coming from. Expressions like "*hot Korean blood* flows in his body" in the article utilize the blood metaphor as a way to mobilize ethnic nationalism. Here, his Korean blood is prioritized before his blackness (or otherness).

What becomes crucial at this moment is that the logic of blood only makes sense in the Hines Ward case through its articulation with the Korean commercial media's appropriation of his global fame. As elaborated in the previous section, if he were not a high-profile sports celebrity in America who has gained fame and money, his Korean heritage by blood tie would have not been highlighted in the eyes of the Korean commercial media (Jun & Lee, 2012). The way that Hines Ward has been praised as an honored Korean sports celebrity is reminiscent of how other Korean transnational sports celebrities are celebrated by general Korean audiences. In other words, they are all "heroic national sports players" who have made the global visibility of the Korean nation possible and upgraded Korea's status in world sports competitions. In particular, transnational Korean athletes such as Chan-Ho Park (once a US major league baseball player), Yuna Kim (world champion figure skater), Tae-Hwan Park (world champion swimmer), Seri Park (world league golfer), and Ji-Sung Park (European premier league soccer player) and their global success in their fields have significantly elevated Korea's national status on the global cultural map. They have also been excellent cultural vehicles for general Korean audiences to express their national pride (Y. Cho, 2008; Joo, 2012).

However, what distinguishes Hines Ward from other (full-blood) Korean athletes, including the examples above, is that he is required to practice Koreanness to prove that he is a faithful Korean. These demonstrations of Koreanness become a way to mitigate his mixed-race identity, which is not the case for other native Korean athletes. Although native Korean athletes, as global sports celebrities, are expected to be patriotic, their Koreanness is never questioned because they are full-blood Korean. In contrast, in the case of Hines Ward, the media kept reproducing the rhetoric of "Although he is a mixed-race Korean, he still is a faithful Korean" and kept showing the various types of images and practices that Hines Ward performed as a faithful Korean.

In this context, I should point out one of the most important aspects in creating the Hines Ward moment: the Korean media's emphasis on Ward's admiration for his mother as well as his mother's self-sacrificing, unconditional love for him. As a mixed-race Korean, Hines Ward's Koreanness would have been questioned if the Koreanness were only defined by bloodline. That he is a very well-known filial son complements his (questionable) Koreanness by his bloodline. Because the virtue of filial piety is one of the most highly valued customs to a Korean's mind, that he cherishes this virtue makes him more Korean. To attest that he shares "typical" Korean virtues and to highlight that he is even more devoted than average Koreans, Korean television devoted attention to the close relationship between Hines Ward and his mother.

In the KBS-1 television serial on Hines Ward and his mother, they heavily focus on their mother-and-son relationship and how much Ward loves his mother. As an example, the show introduces his new mansion (about 3,500 square feet) designed for his mother to live peacefully and conveniently for the rest of her life. He decorated the house in a Korean style so that his mother feels more at home and made a home spa for her as she greatly enjoys it. His words of exaltation and gratitude for his mother, such as "She is everything to me," "She is my inspiration/motivation," and "She made me successful" demonstrate how much he respects his mother for her sacrificing and unconditional love.

In this way, his filial piety is stressed to prove his Koreanness. Because he is not a full-blood Korean, he had to present himself as someone practicing Korean culture in order to attain full Korean membership. Put another way, to perform as a full Korean, he had to learn and practice what it means to be a full Korean. That is why, on the television shows and news reports about him, the emphasis lies on him practicing Korean (traditional) culture, such as playing Korean traditional games and eating *kimchi*. Just like mixed-race Native-Americans are considered lacking their own (traditional) culture (and

more "progressive" than the full-bloods) (Sturm, 2002; Wilson, 1992), Hines Ward as well had to remedy his lack of Koreanness by practicing Korean culture.

The proof of Koreanness through practicing Korean culture and language constitutes an important aspect of Korean multiculturalism. Comparing American and Australian multiculturalism, Stratton and Ang (1998) point out that "while the US designed its national identity through *ideological* means, Australia did it through *cultural* means" (p. 141, emphasis in original). Put differently, Australian multiculturalism aims to sustain its national identity through preserving one particular "culture" that unites the nation, whereas American multiculturalism takes on its ideological function so that it is more important for immigrants to accept and embody American "values" (e.g., the American dream) than to practice a certain culture. I think this comparison provides a useful reference to explain Korean multiculturalism since, as explained in Ward's case above, Korea frames its national identity through cultural means under the current program of multiculturalism. Hence, embracing or embodying the Korean way of life through continuously practicing Korean customs and culture is important to be considered Korean.

Together with practicing Korean culture, Ward self-narrated and self-proclaimed that he is a Korean and he is proud of it. That he had to perform some sort of (Korean) cultural practices and had to keep narrating that he is now proud of his half-Koreanness over and over again via mass media reveals the national/cultural anxiety about him as a Korean. In several interviews, he stressed that he is "now" proud of his "half-Koreanness," which means he has not been always proud of being Korean:

> Korea's newfound hero, Hines Ward, a half-Korean who won the Most Valuable Player in this year's Super Bowl, said he expects to learn more about his heritage during this trip to the country of his birth. "I am very happy to be here, *to come back to where it all started*." Emphasizing that he remains true and proud to his

> race, Ward said, "*I am proud to be a Korean*. I get the best of both worlds. I am very privileged and very blessed to have two backgrounds." (J.-H. Lee, 2006, emphasis added)
>
> *AAPR: How would you describe your ethnicity? Black? Korean? Korean American? African American? Did you feel more connected to certain parts of your heritage at specific junctures in your life?*
>
> *Ward: I would definitely describe myself as Korean African American. 1 felt more connected with my African American side growing up, but now, with my visits to Korea 1 feel like 1 reestablished a connection with my Korean side, a side that has really been missing for quite some time. 1 truly feel a part of both cultures and am blessed to receive the best from both worlds* (S. Lee, 2007, pp. 19-20).

The first passage is what Ward said in the interview with the Korean press, whereas the other one is from an interview with an American journal. Those interviews, whether with the Korean or American press, indicate how he has embraced his Korean identity and how his multiple identities as a mixed-race person have been (re)shaped after his visit to Korea. In particular, as shown in the first interview, the Korean media successfully incorporates his image as a proud Korean regardless of his skin color. It is a well known story that he tattooed his name "in Korean" on his right arm to remember and cherish his Korean heritage. On the other side of celebrating him as a proud Korean, however, we can notice that there is a national anxiety towards the increasing mixed-race population in Korea, and this celebration is one way to successfully suture and cure the anxiety. If he was not an ardent follower and narrator of Korean identity, then he would certainly have not been a symbolic icon for social integration. Hence, bypassing Hines Ward, a symbolic iconic sports celebrity, this celebration transfers/projects the national anxiety of being "impure" (read: racial diversification) to the general public and more specifically to the increasing population of everyday, "real" mixed-race Koreans. Reading the explosive celebration of Hines Ward as symptomatic of a national anxiety towards racial others, I argue that the signifier of Hines Ward as a mixed-race national

hero nicely disguises this national anxiety. Moreover, to resolve (alleviate) this anxiety, it produces a representation of what the model mixed-race Korean would be like.

To elaborate, viewing ordinary mixed-race people as a potential problem or threat to Korean national identity, what the Hines Ward myth signals to them is to be a "good," "tamed" citizen through positive mixed-race role-models such as Hines Ward. However, ironically, this is the moment that Korean multiculturalism reveals its double-faced nature: while there have existed many mixed-race Koreans who were born in Korea, grew up and practiced every single aspect of Korean culture through their everyday life even before the Hines Ward moment, they have never been accepted as a (full) Korean. Korean multiculturalism is exactly working through this irony. On the one hand, it projects a new, multicultural, transnational, global Korean identity, whereas, on the other, it regulates and excludes "impure" others from the national imagery. This is how a "Korean one-drop rule" works: a logic that redefines the national boundaries in the era of transnationalism and globalization. Hence, what the Hines Ward moment connotes is our search for a new Korean identity. In other words, the notion of Koreanness is shifting and redefining itself as it faces many different circumstances under globalization (T. Lim, 2009).

3.4 CONCLUSION

It is certain that racial visibility has become increasingly more prevalent in Korean society as globalization proceeds. Television visualizes this change of the ethnoscape by representing racial bodies on the screen (Appadurai, 1996). The once unspoken and unthinkable matter of race is now becoming an analytical unit for understanding the new transition that Korea faces as a result of the steady flow of global

migration today. In this current circumstance, the Hines Ward moment, as elaborated in this chapter, was symptomatic of struggles over national identity and racial reconfiguration. The celebration of Hines Ward's victorious return to Korea and the discursive explosion around both the Hines Ward moment and multiculturalism signal the changes in how the Korean nation is imaged in the global era. I have argued that the Hines Ward moment was a national projection of a desire to be a multicultural and global Korea that led the media to appropriate his blackness and success. In other words, labeling Korea as "multicultural" is a strategic choice for Korea to assert a place in today's global world. In this process, the commercial Korean media and the state together contributed to shape this national project of envisioning a multicultural Korea.

Together with the Hines Ward moment, in the following chapter, I will examine another widely recognized mixed-race celebrity, Daniel Henney, as a significant cultural text that shapes a racial order in contemporary Korean television. As a white mixed-race man, Daniel Henney, in comparison to Hines Ward, illuminates different aspects of how a multicultural and global Korea is imagined. Put differently, since the white mixed-race celebrities have been articulated differently compared to the black mixed-race ones, the cultural context and meaning of a white mixed-race Daniel Henney differs from that of Hines Ward, which will draw an interesting map of racial reconfiguration in Korean society. In this way, the cultural meaning of mixed-race individuals in the era of globalization can be pictured more accurately, thereby enriching the overall discussion of the reformulation of a Korean national identity under the current globalization.

Chapter 4. Consuming White(ness) in Neoliberal Korea: Daniel Henney and the Construction of a Global Koreanness

I'm definitely a Korean actor until the day I die — Daniel Henney[13]

Pairing with the discussion of the Hines Ward moment in the previous chapter, this chapter utilizes Daniel Henney – a transnational white mixed-race actor – as an anchoring text. It does so to demonstrate that neoliberal market forces, which have led to the commercialization/globalization of Korean popular culture (e.g. the Korean Wave), become a primary instance that articulates social discourses around whiteness, (global) Koreanness, and transnationality. Put differently, while the multicultural impulse was the leading, though not determining, force that drove the Hines Ward moment in the case of a black Amerasian sport celebrity, the "neoliberal battle," which encapsulates a different logic of articulating race and national identity, takes place in the case of white Amerasian celebrity, Daniel Henney.

Therefore, reading Daniel Henney's cultural representation within the framework of the globalization of Korean media/popular culture and its relation to racial discourse, this chapter unfolds the issue of the neoliberal turn in the Korean media industry, the struggle for global Koreanness, and the cultural meaning of (cosmopolitan) whiteness in contemporary Korean television. This attempt has theoretical implications as well given that scholars have pointed out that the concept of race or racialization has not been at the center of globalization analysis (Hall, 2011; Thomas & Clarke, 2006). It is particularly true in the Asian context because race has (always) been treated as a "Western" problem so that it has been largely neglected in general due to Asia's relatively homogenous ethnic population. Given that the academic discussion on race and globalization in Asia is

[13] To read the full interview, please refer to Woo (2009).

just starting, my attempt to recontextualize the globalization of Korean popular culture in relation to racial reconfiguration broadens our understanding of global television analysis by shifting our locus to race.

4.1 Branding Global Korea: The Korean Wave and Daniel Henney

Disconnecting White Mixed-Race from Korea's Racist Past

Daniel Henney appeared like a comet and gained huge popularity after he first debuted on the Korean drama *My Lovely Sam-Soon* (MBC, 2005). He was first known to Korean audiences as a fashion model because he had appeared on several television commercials. Daniel Henney himself is an interesting cultural text in that he embeds flexible and transnational mobility as well as transgresses multiple boundaries, such as national and racial boundaries. In this context, I would argue that Daniel Henney lies at the center of the confluence between Korean media's neoliberal, commercial turn and racial reconfiguration coupled with the rise of the multiculturalism discussion.

The passages below from an article written by Ada Tseng (2008) effectively introduce who Daniel Henney is and how the discussion of Daniel Henney intersects with the discourse of the Korean Wave:

> Although Henney is a certified heartthrob in Korea and amongst worldwide Korean pop culture fans, he is still a relative newcomer to the entertainment industry, starting only three years ago in 2005. A 6'2" American from Michigan (father is British American, mother is Korean American), Henney hit the jackpot with his first role in the Korean drama *My Name is Kim Sam-Soon*. He played an English-speaking Korean American doctor, which was quite convenient because at that point his Korean-language skills were still rather shaky. Although Henney didn't play a leading role, the drama gave him extensive exposure—an estimated 50% of Korean households tuned in for the series finale—and quickly catapulted him to stardom. On a surface level, understanding Daniel Henney's appeal is kind of a no-brainer. He's strikingly good-looking. And, he appears to be kind—so even better. However, in the context of the Korean Wave, or *hallyu*, Daniel

> Henney may have represented something greater. According to Eun Mee Kim, a professor at Ewha Woman's University in Korea who studies the global consumption of *hallyu*, there has been a yearning among Koreans to get a stamp of approval from the West through culture and the arts (Tseng, 2008).

One interesting point to be addressed in relation to the 2006 Hines Ward craze is that Henney's sudden nation-wide popularity in 2005 spread in Korea even before the Hines Ward moment, which connotes that the media discourse about Daniel Henney and his success in Korea functioned as pre-context for the Ward's hype in 2006. In other words, that Henney abruptly became a big star in 2005 alleviated the negative stereotypes about mixed-race individuals that Koreans used to have. It is in this context that Hines Ward's visit in 2006 as a media event was able to create a discursive space for multiculturalism in Korea and complicate the mixed-race issue beyond Amerasians.

Although similar to some degree in the sense that they are both mixed-race celebrities, one of the most notable differences between the two, other than their skin color, is that they draw a different map of discursive articulation. What made the Hines Ward moment unique is that the case openly brings up and publicizes the long-standing discrimination against mixed-race people and the monoracial myth in Korea. In other words, Korea's racist past, as seen from the social discrimination against mixed-race people around the camp towns, triggers the Hines Ward moment. Hence, mixed-race people and all types of migrants from near Asia begin to be included in the discursive formation of Korean multiculturalism through the Hines Ward event.

In contrast, what makes Henney's case distinctive from the Ward case is that he seems disconnected from the historical association with negative stereotypes toward mixed-race people by being *primarily* articulated with other discourses such as transnationalism, flexible citizenship, and cosmopolitanism, which I shall discuss in-depth throughout the chapter. This distinction is important because it hints at the different

cultural meaning between black mixed-race and white mixed-race people in contemporary Korea, which unpacks and complicates the issue of articulation among race, gender, and class in the transnational circulation and consumption of transnational celebrities.

I believe the historical context of the white mixed-race population in modern monoracial Korea enriches and advances our discussion of the changed cultural status of white mixed-race individuals. It also illuminates the different cultural and discursive articulation between blackness and whiteness in contemporary Korean popular culture. Here is what I mean by historical disconnection in the case of Daniel Henney: although white mixed-race individuals in modern monoracial Korea had to struggle against severe cultural and statist racism due to their racial impurity, just as black mixed-race experienced in the past, the white mixed-race population today has bleached its negative stereotype and become commodified as a desirable marker of beauty.

In an article explaining the representations of mixed-race people and the myth of a monoracial Korea in modern Korean novels from the 1950s through the 1970s, K.-M. Choi (2006) argues that both black and white mixed-race people were described as national others and a national threat because of their racial impurity. It is interesting that novelists at that time oftentimes characterized mixed-race people, whether white or black, as mentally challenged simpletons, which located mixed-race people as non-speakable subjects within the Korean history. Although it is certain that both black and white mixed-race people had been excluded from the national imagery, there was a distinct difference in general Koreans' awareness and attitudes towards the white and the black. According to K.-M. Choi (2006, 2009), white American soldiers were seen in a more positive light than blacks. Whites were represented more positively because they were seen as a majority and the ruling class in America. On the other hand, blacks were

described as cruel and inhuman in order to indirectly criticize America, since blacks were viewed as a repressed minority race in America (K.-M. Choi, 2006, p. 300). In other words, novelists' criticism towards America was deflected onto black Americans because it was too risky to condemn white Americans due to friendly relations between the two nations.

Given the cultural/historical context, white mixed-race individuals in modern monoracial Korea had to face severe discrimination in general, yet they were sometimes seen in a positive light because the color white was easily articulated with the positive side of America. In this sense, the cultural currency of whiteness has been significant even in the past. What has changed is the way that the cultural meaning of white mixed-race identity articulates other cultural forms and events across time. In the current situation, where popular cultural artifacts are circulated on a global scale, it is important to examine how the cultural currency of white mixed-race people has changed in Korea, which has experienced different racial relations compared to the multicultural West. Hence, reading Daniel Henney as a cultural text, I aim to study the contemporary cultural currency of whiteness and Koreanness within and beyond Korea in a global context.

Globalizing Korean Popular Culture: The Korean Wave as a National Project

As I have outlined in Chapter 2, white mixed-race celebrities are visibly increasing in contemporary Korean popular culture. One newspaper article argues that casting (white) mixed-race celebrities in television show programs and dramas has become a cultural trend in the entertainment industry today (K. E. Park, 2011). More specifically, in 2005 when Daniel Henney and other white mixed-race celebrities made successful debuts in Korean dramas, the term "mixed-race" was picked up as one of the five key themes in terms of analyzing the cultural trends in 2005 (H. G. Song, 2005). This

demonstrates that the status of mixed-race identity has been positively upgraded compared to the past.

Given that mixed-raciality has becomes a key trend in Korean popular culture, the possible follow-up question would be: what has made this change possible despite the fact the mixed-raciality has long been considered unattractive and even shameful? I argue that this increasing visibility of (white) mixed-race entertainers on television is partially due to the globalization of the Korean media/cultural industry. In other words, the rise of multinational/multiethnic celebrities and entertainers on television presents the glamorous image of a "global Korea" as it demonstrates that the Korean national imagery has been broadened to include racial others (read: white Westerners) in the televisual landscape. In particular, the growing popularity of Korean popular culture in the foreign market, known as the Korean Wave, pulls celebrities of different races and nationalities into Korean popular culture to appeal to foreign audiences/consumers.

As demonstrated by many scholars (H. J. Cho, 2005; Y. Cho, 2011a; Huang, 2009; J. Kim, 2006; K. Lee, 2008; M. Lee, 2012; Shim, 2006), the Korean Wave is a *national project* that drives the national aspiration to be global through utilizing the cultural industry as a vehicle. More specifically, it is a *postcolonial* national project in the sense that it rearticulates the image of modern Korea in the postcolonial and post-Cold War context, expressing Korea's cultural sovereignty and redefining/relocating the Korean nation in the global world today (see M. Lee, 2012) What distinguishes it from the previous national modernization project in the 1970s and the 1980s is that this postcolonial national project is no longer centrally carried out by the (authoritarian) state as it was in the past, but is now shaped by various factors, such as state, market, and audiences. Although the state sponsors the cultural industry to enlarge the influence of the Korean Wave within the region and in the global market, the Korean Wave is

profoundly market-driven since exportability is one crucial factor defining the boundaries of the Korean Wave (J. Kim, 2006). Hence, it is more accurate to say that the Korean Wave is neither a state-driven nor a state-controlled project as it was in the monoracial/monocultural past, but a national project that is driven by the market (cultural industry producers), sponsored by the state, and publicized by the press and academic intellectuals (K. Lee, 2008).

In cooperation with the market and the state, branding the nation through popular culture becomes an effective way to transform Korea's national image into a cool, modern, and advanced society. For example, appointing Korean Wave stars – actors, musicians, and sport celebrities – as brand ambassadors of Korea demonstrates how cultural diplomats, relying on celebrities' popularity, can accomplish more in foreign affairs than real politicians. It is well known that, because of its huge popularity among Japanese audiences, *Winter Sonata* (KBS-2, 2002) greatly relaxed the political tension between Korea and Japan. Scholars note that what actor Bae Yong-Joon, a male protagonist in *Winter Sonata*, did for elevating Korea's national image internationally is something that politics would never have done before (S. Jung, 2011; Mori, 2008). Along the same line, promoting tourism by preserving the dramatic shooting locations as possible tourist spots, for instance, is one strategy to boost the Korean media/cultural industry as well as to upgrade the national image through branding the nation. (M.-Y. Park, 2012). Likewise, creating a cultural cluster produces the highest cultural value in increasing media/cultural capacity within the region by promoting other related cultural consumption (Keane, 2006).

This positive outcome of the Korean Wave is well illustrated by one survey on how Korea's national image is received by foreigners. The survey reports that Korea is (now) considered as "globalized, economically advanced, positive and open towards

other countries, and good for business" in the eyes of foreigners (Chae, 2011, p. 46). Moreover, the growing popularity of Korean media/popular culture in the regional and global market has not only positively changed Korea's national image, but also established a foothold for national economic growth.

Observing the enormous economic profits that the Korean cultural industry has produced, the Korean government started to actively engage with developing Korean media/popular culture. Accordingly, the Korean government has announced many cultural policies that suggest governmental support for the Korean Wave as a way to foster the Korean cultural industry. For example, the government announced the first phase of its Five-Year-Plan for Promoting Broadcasting Industry (1998-2002) in 1998, and it has continued until the current (third) term of the plan (2008-2012). In those Five-Year-Plans, it is notable that the second (2003-2007) and the third term plan (2008-2012), which coincided with the Korean Wave's greater visibility in the Asian region, have specific sections on strategies for mobilizing broadcasting and visual content to promote the national image and brand the nation utilizing Korean Wave media/cultural content. In addition, the "Korean Culture Promotional Organization (*hallyu-munhwa-jinheungdan*)" was established in 2012 under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to continue globalizing Korean popular culture and expand its boundaries from K-pop to literature, art, and animation across the whole Korean culture.

Together with this governmental support, the Korean media/cultural industry, which has been more and more commercialized and liberalized since the 1990s, has taken the leading role in producing, circulating, and exporting cultural products for global audiences. One of the most notable changes in the K-pop industry is that entertainment agencies are now recruiting multinational trainees from near Asian countries, such as China and Thailand, to create global idol groups that can appeal to other Asian markets as

well as to Western markets. In other words, the content of the Korean Wave has become more and more hybridized and globalized, since producers are now keenly aware of global markets and global audiences. As a newspaper article explains:

> The main reasons that foreign celebrities have been put at the forefront is that their field has been enlarged from the domestic market to both domestic and international markets. Thus, entertainment management deliberately scouts foreign entertainers when they create an album or television drama (or film) to keep in mind Asian audiences and international markets (Jimin Hong & Lee, 2010).

To elaborate, as seen from many recent Korean idol groups, such as 2PM, MissA, Wonder Girls, and Super Junior, that have foreign members, entertainment management strategically selects and recruits members who can speak Chinese, Japanese, and English, respectively, to appeal to different regions in the global market. This trend can also be understood in terms of the "cultural competence" that Mary Beltran (2005) uses to explain the rise of multiculti castings and multiracial protagonists in the contemporary Hollywood action film genre. In the same vein, the robust success of the Korean Wave in the global market has (in)directly affected the rise of a multinational, multiethnic cast in idol groups as well as in drama and film these days to demonstrate their cultural ability to appeal to much larger audiences. This trend ignites the discussion on the boundaries of the Korean Wave and its "odorless" taste (Iwabuchi, 2002) that can be easily transferred to other regions that share few cultural similarities. Put differently, the Korean Wave is continuously evolving and mutating to reach ever-larger audiences and is inventing new strategies in the midst of the tension and cooperation between the market and the state.

Daniel Henney, Transnational Mobility, and Flexible Citizenship

The rise of multinational and multiethnic celebrities in contemporary Korean popular culture certainly epitomizes the transnational movements of capital,

media/cultural products, and celebrity culture. The point here is to examine how this transnational circulation gets articulated with both the (domestic) discussion of multiculturalism and the (international) concerns of Korean's global position. This is the moment where the internal and external gazes on Korea intersect each other. It is my intention to call attention to the discrepancy between the internal struggle for national identity and how it is imagined externally. It is in this context that the rise of multinational, multiethnic celebrities that rearrange and restructure our understanding of social relations needs to be further examined. Taking it one step further, I believe examining Daniel Henney, one of the most successful white mixed-race celebrities in contemporary Korean popular culture, can enrich our discussion of transnational perspectives on racial reconfiguration and the struggle for a global Koreanness in contemporary commercial Korean television.

Born to a Korean adoptee mother and an Irish-American father, Henney himself embodies transnational, flexible, and multiple identities (Lo & Kim, 2011). He is a half-Korean and half-Irish by blood, an American by nationality/citizenship, and a (biracial) white by race who travels around the world and appears in both Korean dramas as well as Hollywood blockbusters. In addition, his career path clearly indicates his transnational mobility. He first started modeling in the US as a college student in 2001. He soon became a top model after American designer and then creative director of Gucci, Tom Ford, booked him exclusively for the Gucci show, also known as "Tom Ford's Asian sensation," in 2003. Quoting Ford, "He [Henney] is the most beautiful Asian model ever." Working as a top fashion model, he was featured in numerous luxury-brand shows like Giorgio Armani, Yves Saint Laurent, and Ralph Lauren – all global corporate icons – traveling to metropolitan cities around the world, such as Paris, London, New York, Milan, and Hong Kong.

As described above, the Korean drama *My Lovely Samsoon* made Daniel Henney an instant national celebrity, and he immediately took a role in *Spring Waltz* (KBS-2, 2006). That he took a role in *Spring Waltz* was sensational because the drama was the final sequel of the season-themed drama directed by Yoon Seok-Ho who produced *Winter Sonata*, a monumental drama that (first) ignited the Korean Wave in Japan and the East Asian region. Since then, Henney started to be labeled as "the Korean Wave star" as he was cast in so-called "Korean Wave dramas" *My Lovely Sam-Soon* and *Spring Waltz.* Although *Spring Waltz* was not as successful with domestic audiences as the director Yoon's other sequels, it was still exportable to other Asian countries. The fact that *Spring Waltz* was pre-sold to nine other countries, including Japan, Hong Kong, Philippine, Thailand, and Taiwan, even before it aired in March 2006 well illustrates its popularity and exportability within the region. While continuing his acting career in Korea, Henney also debuted in Hollywood by grabbing the role of Agent Zero in the blockbuster action film, *X-Men Origins: Wolverine*, in 2009. (See Table 5 below for Henney's career path in both Korea and the USA.)

Title	Year	Producing Country	Genre	Character	Role
My Lovely Sam-Soon	2005	Korea	MBC	Henry Kim	Supporting role
Spring Waltz	2006	Korea	KBS-2	Philip	Semi-leading role
Seducing Mr. Perfect	2006	Korea	Film	Robin Heiden	Semi-leading role
My Father	2007	Korea	Film	James Parker	Leading role
X-Men Origins: Wolverine	2009	USA	Film	Agent Zero	Supporting role
Three Rivers	2009	USA	CBS	David Lee	Pilot program (aired for only three episodes)
The Fugitive: Plan B	2011	Korea	KBS-2	Kai	Semi-leading role
Shanghai Calling	2012	USA	Film	Sam	Leading role

Table 5: Daniel Henney's filmography

All three Korean dramas in which Henney took supporting or semi-leading roles were successful enough to be labeled as Korean Wave dramas since they were exported to many other countries in Asia and beyond. One of the crucial reasons why Japanese trendy dramas swept Asia in the 1990s was that they visualized what "Asian modernity" looked like and wove this into the drama narrative (Ang, 2007; Iwabuchi, 2002, 2004; J. Kim, 2006). Just like Japanese trendy dramas in the 1990s, the Korean Wave dramas in the 2000s illuminate the modern life style in Asia by embracing so-called "Asian values," such as familial life, in the narrative. In the same vein, the visual images of contemporary Korean spaces and lifestyles are more desirable than the Western type of modern lifestyle to Asian audiences. As Huang (2009, p. 7) rightly puts it, if the globalization of Japanese popular culture signals Japan's return to Asia, the Korea Wave elevates Korea's status in Asia.

Given this context, Daniel Henney in those three dramas functions as a symbol of "Asianized (Western) cosmopolitanism" by presenting himself as a marker of a flexible, cosmopolitan citizen who embodies what I would call "Western values" with an "Asian mask." The characters that he took were either a humanist doctor (*My Lovely Sam-Soon*) who came to Korea to take care of a girl whom he loves, the global manager of his pianist friend (*Spring Waltz*), or the owner of a global shipping company (*The Fugitive: Plan B*). Actively incorporating his transnational mobility and double-identity as a Korean-American into the drama narrative, the Korean Wave dramas have expanded their boundaries to project the changed status of Korea in the world.

I believe it is worthwhile to discuss *My Lovely Sam-Soon* in detail as it shows how the Korean drama successfully incorporated Henney's image of Asianized (Western) cosmopolitanism into the drama narrative. The drama was hugely popular among young female audiences not only in Korea but also in other Asian countries.[14] The reason for its popularity with this demographic is that, within the genre of romantic-comedy, it depicts the struggles that Korean females who are in their thirties may experience to live out a modern, independent life. Given that females' social status has been significantly elevated, female audiences empathized greatly with the changed notion of such values as career, marriage, love, sex, and family in contemporary Korea. In other words, the drama illuminates various aspects of the (new) female subjectivity together with Korea's changing global status by articulating women's desire to be independent and professional,

[14] The popularity of *My Lovely Sam-Soon* both in Korea and in Asia was huge, given that the national rating was over 50% in Korea. Moreover, it was sold to Japan for the highest price ever awarded to Korean dramas exported to Japan. The drama was also popular and successful in many other countries in Asia, including China and Vietnam. It is especially noteworthy that the national rating in Vietnam was over 40%, and the film was also remade in Vietnam with the title *Ako si Kim Samsoon* in 2008.

the young generation's search for new relational models in love, marriage, and family, and women's rising status as powerful consumers (Y. H. Jung, 2007; M.-H. Kim, 2006).

It is within this cultural shift that Daniel Henney's sudden appearance in the Korean drama makes more sense. The character Henry Kim (played by Daniel Henney) in *My Lovely Sam-Soon* exists to show how much Korea has become globalized and to amplify female audiences' romantic fantasy given that he gave up his successful life as a doctor in America to come to Korea and look after his love who was suffering from an illness. Moreover, as a Korean-American who was born in Korea but adopted to American parents at age two, the character Henry Kim also has a yearning to visit his "homeland," which makes him more "acceptable" to Korean audiences. What made this character successful is that his global mobility and the value attached to him as a transnational celebrity/model is well articulated within the overall drama plot that "narrates a postcolonial, national fantasy that attempts to supplant Korea as the center of modern living, in which material and romantic comforts of the West can also be achieved and rightfully adjusted within the Korean context" (M. Lee, 2012, p. 179). In other words, Henney's existence in the drama provides an imaginary room for Korean audiences to imagine the national space as a global Korea.

Aside from the dramatic roles he's played, one point to be addressed about Henney's transnational mobility as a model and an actor is the particular *direction* of the movement: from the US to Western Europe (France, Italy, etc.) to Asia (Hong Kong, Korea, etc.) and back and forth between Korea and the States. This transnational movement not only shows how global capital moves across nations and regions, but also explicates his character as a flexible citizen who transgresses national boundaries without being bound to a single national identity (Ong, 1999). His flexible mobility as well as fluid identity can be explained by examining the nature of transnational celebrities.

According to Giardina (2001), "transnational celebrities have become flexible with respect to the formalities of their citizenship: they have separated their citizenship from their culture, where the former is flexible and amorphous and the latter is stable and tied to one's country of origin" (p. 206). In the same vein, Henney's multiple identities as a transnational celebrity are fluid in that he can flexibly present himself differently in different contexts without requiring ties to one single identity.

However, this does not mean that his transnational movement has no restrictions, nor does it imply that he can be anybody anywhere without limitations. Though his transnational identity is fluid and flexible in nature, it is always context-driven and defined under certain conditions. Henney's interview with the *Los Angeles Times* introduces an interesting point about his flexible identity. The reporter describes him as follows:

> He [Daniel Henney] spent little time thinking about his mixed ethnicity as a kid growing up in small town Michigan, "a very naive place of 1,100 people where all the kids there ever thought about was hunting and fishing. *I always just thought of myself as a white guy*," he says. But race was not ignored. There was teasing from friends, who would bow to him, or tease him about the ramen noodles his mother stocked in the kitchen.
>
> The Japanese, who have a proven market for Korean TV and movie stars, are just beginning to notice the Henney phenomenon, sending reporters to Seoul to interview him. "*The Japanese see me as a Korean, not an American*," he [Henney] says (Wallace, 2007, emphasis added).

As shown above, his racial/national identity as a white mixed-race individual and a Korean-American is read differently by different local audiences as he moves across regions. In the US, as exemplified by Tom Ford's remark, Henney is predominantly seen as "Asian" in the eyes of Americans, even though he himself always thought he was a white American until he was severely bullied by white boys at age ten. Interestingly enough, in Korea, people read him as a white-"Korean" despite his American nationality,

which connotes that bloodline is prioritized over nationality. What complicates the issue here is the dynamics between his hyphenated nationality and ethnicity (Bhabha, 1990, 1998; Papastergiadis, 1997; Rutherford, 1990). Whereas he is seen as a Korean-American, which demonstrates that his racial/ethnic identity is subordinate to (or subsumed by) his nationality in America, in Korea, he is viewed as white-Korean, which indicates that his whiteness (race) is appended to his ethnicity (Korean). Yet, whiteness, in the case of white-Korean, would signify America as well in an attempt to imagine America as a white nation, which racializes America to be white(r) in Koreans' minds. In addition, it is interesting that the Japanese read him as a Korean, not as an American, which, in my interpretation, suggests that racial proximity is preferred to his actual citizenship when reading Henney's body. Put differently, the Japanese (automatically) read him as a Korean, just as most Koreans do, because he "looks like" an Asian. Likewise, different readings of Henney's racial(ized) body point to his flexible citizenship as well as hybrid, multiple identities, which signifies different racial relations among different countries and regions.

Taking it one step further, I believe what becomes important in this context is to see how Henney redefines/reformulate/transcends national and racial boundaries and, accordingly, how he represents himself differently (or is labeled differently) as he transcends those boundaries. In other words, as an American citizen who shares nothing but the Korean bloodline, it is important to examine how the Korean (mass) media incorporates his image as a globally successful "Korean" and what his transnational popularity and global Koreanness stand for in a global context.

4.2 In-between the Korean Wave Star and the Hollywood Star: Imagining a National Boundary through Transnational Celebrity

Given that Daniel Henney's popularity is partially associated with the success of Korean dramas within the region, the majority of Korean media outlets were quick to embrace his (hybrid) Koreanness and to label him as a Korean Wave star. Despite this quick acceptance, however, questions of whether or not he is a Korean Wave star and/or what forces have made him so popular should be contemplated further because those inquiries unpack crucial dimensions of what constitutes Koreanness in relation to the (global) circulation of the discourse of the Korean Wave. Moreover, those questions would lead to other important inquiries: what is "Korean" about the Korean Wave? How is the national boundary re-imagined in the case of Daniel Henney, who makes the discussion even more interesting due to his hybrid racial identity?

Studying celebrity is one effective way to engage with how transnational capital mediates a complex matrix of the entertainment industry, media industry, advertising, and (global) consumer culture (Andrews & Jackson, 2001; Y. Cho, 2011b; Holmes & Redmond, 2006; Marshall, 1997). Due to the growing importance of celebrity as a symbolic figure for the politics of popular culture, celebrity studies has been growing significantly since the early 2000s in the West. It is now a fast growing area in Korea as well. Although celebrity studies is in the beginning stages in Korea, there are a couple of studies that read celebrity as a site of cultural negotiation and cultural politics (Y. Cho, 2008, 2011b; M.-W. Jung, 2010; M. K. Jung, 2009; S. Y. Kim, 2006). Among those, Y. Cho (2008) particularly studies Korean sports celebrities, such as Seri Park (World championship female golfer) and Chanho Park (American major league baseball player), who are major world players in their respective sports. Cho (2008) also examines how Korean nationalism has been challenged and transformed after the IMF economic crisis.

In the same vein, M.-W. Jung (2010) examines the controversy over Korean-American singer and then-leader of an idol group 2PM Jay Park, who insulted Korea(nness) as a cultural text. Jung (2010) explicates the gendered, classed, and racialized national anxieties transposed onto Jay Park's multiple identities as a transnational subject.

As those studies on transnational Korean celebrities point out, Korean (transnational) celebrities in various fields who achieve worldwide fame are becoming a perfect vehicle for Koreans to express their national pride because those celebrities have promoted Korea's national image and national value on a global scale. Joo (2012) explains:

> Athletes who play abroad represent the image of the newly globalized Korean subject who leaves the country to succeed yet continues to maintain a strong sense of Korean identity. […] Representations of highly successful Korean athletes convey the idea that Korean global success is indeed possible. In the increasingly corporate rhetoric used by the neoliberal state, athletes operate to spread the "brand name" of South Korea to other national media markets. […] They also upgrade the status of South Korea in the context of competitive global sport and offer important expressions of global Koreanness through advertisements that represent the financial and technological contemporariness of a digital Korea (Joo, 2012, p. 56).

National sports celebrities, Korean Wave stars on screen (in both drama and film), and K-pop idol groups who have gained worldwide fame and raised national pride (re)produce and reinforce national identity and cultural nationalism for general Korean audiences. Some Korean celebrities' recent "successful" infiltration of Hollywood makes sense in this context. According to a magazine article titled "Korea Takes Hollywood" in *Newsweek International* (Kolesnikov-Jessop, 2009), ethnic Korean actors have started to gain traction in American television and film. This trend includes not only Korean-American actors, such as Yunjin Kim and Daniel Dae Kim of *Lost* (ABC, 2004-2010), Sandra Oh of *Grey's Anatomy* (ABC, 2005-present), James Kyson Lee of *Heroes* (NBC,

2006-2010), and John Cho of *Star Trek* (2009), but also native Korean celebrities who are also well-known as Korean Wave stars in Asia. For example, Jeong Ji-Hoon (a.k.a. singer Rain) and Lee Byung-Heon took major and/or supporting roles in the Hollywood blockbusters *Ninja Assassin* (2009) and *G.I Joe: The Rise of Cobra* (2009), respectively. Moreover, world famous Korean film directors, such as Park Chan-Wook (*Old Boy*), Bong Joon-Ho (*Host*), and Kim Ji-Woon (*The Good, the Bad, the Weird*), have successfully introduced their films to the American market and audiences. Moreover, all of them are now directing and producing their first debut film in Hollywood, as the Hollywood film industry is getting more interested in recruiting big-name Korean film directors.[15] As illustrated, the rise of Korean media/cultural products and the successful debut of Korean actors and directors in the global (read: American) market in various forms generates a victorious narrative for Korean media to highlight the excellence of Korean media/cultural products. These success stories indicate that even the "center" of the global media industry, Hollywood, has recognized Korea as a new rising media/cultural hub in the global market, not only in the regional market.

Even before the current presence of Korean Wave stars in Hollywood, the success of the Korean Wave in the region has been discussed in the framework of global regionalism or a regional response to global Hollywood. Specifically, scholars have discussed the Korean Wave as a sign of a global shift in media/cultural flow, redefining fundamental relationships between local and global (B. H. Chua & Iwabuchi, 2008; Iwabuchi, 2002; Keane, 2006; Moran & Keane, 2004). Given the strong regional inclination, it seems certain that the Korean Wave signifies cultural regionalism, diversifying media/cultural flows within the region. As Korean Wave media/cultural

[15] Park Chan-Wook's first Hollywood project, *Stoker* (2013) with Nicole Kidman, as well as Kim Ji-Woon's *Last Stand* (2013) with Arnold Schwarzenegger are about to be released, and Bong Joon-Ho's first English-language debut, *Snow Piercer*, is planned for Summer 2013.

content has become more and more popular in the region, the Korean celebrities who attain popularity through that content are well recognized as Korean Wave stars in both Korea and the Asian region. In this context, it is interesting that once a Korean Wave star succeeds in the global market – for instance, in Hollywood – s/he is no longer called a Korean Wave star, but becomes labeled a "world star." Jeong Ji-Hoon (Rain), Jeon Do-Yeon, Jeon Ji-Hyun, and Lee Byeon-Heon, all of whom were formerly called Korean Wave stars when they were popular in the region, now go by the term "world star" since they are now successful on a global scale. This shift indicates that the imaginary scope of the Korean Wave was rigidly bounded to the Asian region. However, the recent spread of Korean media/popular culture across the regions and the consecutive landing of Korean actors in Hollywood as well as K-pop fever in the West demonstrate that the imaginary boundaries of the Korean Wave are becoming fainter and reconfigured.

It is in this context that Daniel Henney's career path and his transnational, flexible identity complicates and enriches the whole discussion about national identity reconfigured through the national media/popular culture. After successfully establishing his position in Asia, Henney moved to Hollywood and debuted through the film *X-Men Origins: Wolverine* (2009) and the pilot television drama *Three Rivers* (CBS, 2009). Then he came *back* to Korea to shoot another Korean Wave drama, *The Fugitive: Plan B* (KBS-2, 2011), with now-emerging world star Jeong Ji-Hoon (Rain). Interestingly enough, he made a successful *return* to Hollywood by taking a leading role in *Shanghai Calling* (2012), for which he also won the Festival's Outstanding Achievement Acting Award at the Newport Beach Film Festival in America. It is worthwhile to highlight that, in *Shanghai Calling*, he played the male leading character in the romantic-comedy genre because Asian males in Hollywood have typically been represented as "asexual" (not

sexually attractive) or "action heroes" (only represented in the martial arts or action genre) (Chan, 2001; Gallagher, 2006).

To reiterate the initial question that I posed at the beginning of the section: is/was Henney a Korean Wave star? In the case of many other (native) Korean celebrities who made it to Hollywood, it is easy for the Korean media (and audiences) to label those who have now become Hollywood stars (or world stars) as Korean Wave and to be proud of what they have accomplished as Koreans. Unlike native Korean celebrities, however, Daniel Henney's successful career path both in Korea and America is questioned because of his ambiguous national/racial identity. Thus, the following questions are always following him: Is he *Korean enough* to be a Korean Wave star? Isn't he an *American* celebrity who once appeared on Korean television and now works for Hollywood? Those questions are useful in the sense that they lead us to reconsider what is Korean about the Korean Wave and to redefine relations between the Korean Wave and Hollywood on the global cultural map.

The discussion about whether or not Henney is a Korean Wave star, which appeared on an Internet public forum, provides some insights regarding the struggle for Koreanness in contemporary Korean popular culture. In the online article "If Daniel Henney becomes a world star, would it be the pride of Korea?" (2009, May 4),[16] the author argues that Daniel Henney is not a Korean Wave star because he, first of all, is an American citizen and, secondly, is not Korean enough to be a Korean actor since he still cannot speak Korean very well. Hence, it is argued that since he has never truly been a Korean actor in a strict sense, it has nothing to do with the Korean nation even if he becomes a world star. It is an interesting moment because, in contrast to the mainstream

[16] Read the article and comments at http://entertainforus.tistory.com/468

media's quick embrace of him as a Korean Wave star for national economic benefit, it opens up the discussion and suggests a fissure in the Korean national identity imagined through transnational celebrity.

As a response to the article, Korean netizens (the compound of "network" and "citizen") left comments at the end of the article with various perspectives, which were hardly expressed in mainstream media. Below are selected comments from the web site.

> (A) 글쎄요: Strictly speaking, he is not Korean. We don't necessarily associate him with the Korean Wave, but it is not bad at all to have a pro-Korea actor in Hollywood.
>
> (B) ㅇㅁ: We don't have to fuss about him being Korea's pride. However, since he is a Korean-American, it is good for Korea (he is at least not harming Korea).
>
> (C) SDF: […] It's so hard to be a Korean. Ethnic Chinese and Jewish are actively making connections even in the situation when there seems to be no help and cooperating each other. Likewise, we should not disregard people who are interested in Korea even though they want to make a profit out of Korea. Moreover, the Korean national image is not so familiar to foreigner, so we don't get treated as well as we deserve. In this context, even though it's a short blurb, it is better to be exposed in entertainment news. I think it's more of benefit, not a loss. Abroad, when people say "Korea," many of them would think of Kim Jung Il (the North Korean president). We are desperately in need of handsome-guy marketing.
>
> (D) 나도 한마디: I agree with SDF. The number of Asian mixed-race people is now increasing due to international marriage and *monoracial Korea is becoming less and less appropriate. We are living in the global world and that's just an old-fashioned, narrow way of thinking*.
>
> (E) 안녕: I think it's ridiculous to clarify whether Henney is Korean or not. In this (global) world today, it is very narrow-minded to find someone appealing (only) because s/he is Korean. *Maybe that is because (you believe that) a monoracial, single nation is superior.* If Henney succeeds in Hollywood, we will be proud of him because of the fact that he once worked in Korea (not because he is half-Korean) and becomes famous. It would be true abroad as well. Is the fact that he is a half-Korean by blood that important abroad? Just like Nicole Kidman

> is Australian and a Hollywood star, but nobody really cares that she is Australian. *Our nation is becoming more and more multicultural today*, and in this circumstance, I think it is not important to support him (only) because he shares Korean blood.
>
> (F) Virusx: I don't like him... Since he wasn't able to make it abroad, he came to Korea and earned some money riding on his mixed-raciality. He then flew back to work abroad again. *He is not even a Korean citizen, and he barely speaks Korean.* I don't know why people like him. *He just takes money from us*. (All emphasis is mine.)

The selected quotes above provide interesting points about cultural nationalism appearing in the popular cultural arena. First, we can notice that Henney's multiracial, global image has been commercialized by the Korean media and consumed by global audiences, which has upgraded Korea's national image in a positive way. (C) argues that we need a more aggressive and new type of nation-branding strategy by utilizing the images of "handsome" celebrities. It can be understood that people desire to see a new national image in the era of globalization through actively embracing commercial marketing strategies. Seen from the comments of (D) and (E), people are also aware that the notion/status of Korean nation today has been reconfigured from a monoracial, single nation, which is an "old-fashioned" way of imagining Korea in their terms, to a multicultural, global Korea. I believe this shift also brings changes in people's norm of thinking Korea: Globalization is an irreversible trend and, under this circumstance, it is *right* to change our way of thinking/imagining the world as well as (our) nation-state, and if not, that perspective is outdated (D).

Another point to be addressed from the quotes above is characteristic of the nationalism shown in people's reading of Henney's (racialized) body. Whether or not Henney produces positive effects for Korea is more important than whether or not he is Korean (A, B). In other words, regardless of Henney's nationality or blood tie, whether or not he is profitable is the most important factor in evaluating him as a Korean (C, E). This

is similar to the Hines Ward craze in that Ward's Korean blood tie was appropriated and commercialized by the mainstream media, and his image as a successful sport stars in the US was integrated into the national image of a multicultural, global Korea. Even in the case where one thinks Henney is *not* Korean, economic benefit is still a keen barometer for evaluating Henney. Both (A) and (F) agrees that Henney is not Korean, but their attitude towards Henney is different. Whereas (A) thinks Henney will ultimately bring positive effects for Korea's national image, (F) sees him as a "foreign entertainer" who drains Korean currency abroad as s/he reads him as an American citizen. In this context, the notion discussed in Chapter 3, that even one drop of Korean blood is enough to be Korean, as long as one is a successful Korean, is also applicable to Henney's case. Ward and Henney, despite their different skin color, acquire the same status in that both are transnational celebrities who are rich and successful and who have shown the (global) excellence/fame of their Koreanness. At this point, it is interesting to point out that their wealth and (upper)class status on a global level become the primary articulator of their Koreanness in the work of commercial media, which diminishes their racial difference.

I believe those cases show how cultural nationalism works in the neoliberal world today (Y.-i. Lee, 2012). Nationalism is now commercialized in that no matter what one's citizenship is, to the extent that one is profitable for the nation (or elevating the national status), one's "otherness" is appropriated as "Koreanness." Hence, Henney's citizenship does not really matter when labeling him as a Korean Wave star, as long as Henney can play a successful vehicle for Koreans to express their national pride. In other words, Koreanness today is commodified in the work of exportability and economic value in the popular cultural field. Considering that transnational celebrity is a cultural text in which the struggle for (cultural) identity takes place, commercializing and objectifying Henney's body (by content producers), reading and interpreting his body (by audiences),

and circulating the discourse about it (by the press) all together are acts of negotiating, (re)producing, and renewing the idea of what constitutes Koreanness at the level of everyday life. Put differently, nationalism can be experienced and practiced in the work of everyday popular culture.

Even though economic feasibility or profitability is crucial for determining Koreanness in the case of transnational celebrities, it is not the only factor. Not only exportability but also loyalty towards Korea is equally important for them to be labeled as a Korean Wave star. In other words, Korean-American or Korean mixed-race celebrities have to indicate that they are faithful Koreans by practicing the Korean language and showing how much they love Korea. As M.-W. Jung (2010) rightly points out, it is not allowed for them to be critical about Korea; instead, they only have the right to *love* Korea since their Koreanness is always questioned due to their ambiguous identity. If they remain "unfaithful" to or "critical" of Korea, it is possible for them to be expelled from Korea. In Henney's case, even though he identifies himself as a Korean actor, people doubt his Koreanness since he often does not speak in Korean in some official meetings and even in the Korean dramas.

Besides the commercial nationalism expressed in the word "Korean Wave star," another interesting point about Daniel Henney and other Korean Wave stars' way into Hollywood is that this "counter-flow" from Korea to the USA redefines the (imaginary) relationship between Hollywood and the Korean Wave. For example, newspaper articles with titles such as "the Korean Wave into Hollywood," "Can the Korean Wave Crash Hollywood?" and "Korea Takes Hollywood" reveal that the current global circulation of media/cultural content is not unidirectional (i.e., from center to periphery), but multi-directional and complex in nature. More specifically, the Malaysian version of the international fashion magazine, *August Man* (March 2012), where Henney appears on the

cover, describes him as such: "Asian Invasion: Hollywood Braces Itself for Daniel Henney."[17]

As exemplified above, one point to be addressed about the media narratives of the Korean Wave stars' "successful" landing in Hollywood is that they use wartime metaphors, framing their achievements with words like "take," "invasion," and "crash." I argue that this narrative in a sense reveals how Hollywood has been imagined in Koreans' minds: as a "center" of global popular culture. To put it differently, the warlike rhetoric of Korean stars' "invasion" of Hollywood is an expression of cultural pride that the Korean celebrities and Korean popular culture are now recognizable in the "global center," Hollywood, which also indicates that Korea's national status has gotten abreast of Hollywood on the global cultural map. I would say that it does not necessarily mean that Korea "overtakes" Hollywood; rather, Hollywood plays a symbolic counterpart to imagine or locate Korea on the global cultural map.

Despite the (mainstream) media's binary opposition between Hollywood and the Korean Wave, Henney's positionality as a transnational celebrity addresses more dialogical, flexible relations between the two. In the interview with CNN and the Korean online entertainment magazine *Ten-Asia,* Henney says:

> **CNN: Do you consider yourself a Korean actor or an American actor?**
>
> *Henney: I'm definitely a Korean actor until the day I die. Korea gave me my career. Korea is where I made my mistakes, where I had my highs and my lows. It's where I learned the ropes. If it wasn't for Korea, I wouldn't be here (Woo, 2009).*
>
> **Ten-Asia: Are you saying that you've moved across the whole world based on your own beliefs and standards?**

[17] To see the cover page, please go to http://www.whosdatedwho.com/tpx_9023951/august-man-magazine-malaysia-march-2012/

> *Henney: I don't particularly focus on a specific targeted local market. Of course, Korea is special to me so that I made an exception for it from the first. However, the world is now changing. A black man becomes president, and* Slumdog Millionaire (2008) *got the Academy Award. In this world, I believe what I can do is much more important than where I go or whom I meet.*
>
> *Henney: Within 5 to 10 years, the world will change, and Hollywood will also change. By then, Hollywood will be a new Hollywood, and there will be Asian stars who lead in Hollywood as Brad Pitt and Johnny Depp did. I am not confident that I will be like them one day. However, I will try my best to be like them. And if I can have that opportunity, I would like to be a role model for Asian children. I think there should be an Asian actor whom children are in awe of. It would be really great if I can be that one (smile).*

Despite his American citizenship, it stands out that Henney identifies himself as a Korean actor. As I have elaborated above, he might have no choice but to identify himself as Korean to stay loyal to Korean audiences because he wants to continue working in Korea. At the same time, however, identifying himself as Korean is also a strategic choice given his transnational movement. Since Korea has become a regional hub for media/popular cultural circulation, it is strategic for him to embrace his Koreanness to be more globally successful. In other words, riding on the popularity of the Korean Wave in the region made it easier for him to go back to Hollywood. It is certain that Korea is becoming a powerful regional media center so that Hollywood, in turn, targets Korea to be more approachable to the Asian market. Hence, the cultural flow between Hollywood and Korea is more interactive in that Korean stars are heading to Hollywood, and Hollywood stars are, in reverse, heading to Korea (H. S. Lee, 2010).

Taking it one step further, it is interesting to point out that Daniel Henney balances between the Korean (and Asian) market and Hollywood and claims himself as a "global citizen" by deconstructing the binary opposition between the Korean Wave and Hollywood. For him, Korea and Hollywood are not two separable poles as they are in our geographical imagination, but are rather dialogical counterparts in that their boundaries

are continuously reshaped and redefined through the work of transnational production and consumption of their cultural products. As Iwabuchi (2002) rightly states, "the popular cultural forms are undoubtedly deeply imbricated in US cultural imaginaries, but they dynamically rework meanings of being modern in Asian contexts at the site of production and consumption" (p. 16). Therefore, I argue that Henney's Koreanness reshapes the imaginary boundaries of the Korean Wave in relation to Hollywood. In other words, his Koreanness is reconfigured not in an essentialist way that is defined by geographical national boundaries or by blood tie, but in a transnational way in which Koreanness is translated into and transcended by different markers of globalism. This mode of being a transnational Korean becomes even more multifaceted when it comes up against Henney's whiteness, which I will discuss further in the following section.

4.3 Production and Consumption of Cosmopolitan Whiteness

As discussed above, Daniel Henney as a transnational celebrity redefines the imagined national boundaries of Korea. While his transnational mobility leads us to consider the issue of national identity and transnational, flexible, neoliberal subjectivity, his race/ethnicity as a white Korean-American also significantly reconfigures the changed cultural meaning of mixed-race as well as whiteness in Korean society. Given that the number of mixed-race celebrities are increasing and actively working in the Korean entertainment industry more than ever before, it is fair to ask why then white mixed-race people, in particular, become more desirable markers of "otherness" despite the fact that both black and white mixed-race identity was considered so shameful that it was absolutely excluded from the national imagery in modern Korea.

At this point, it is worthwhile to discuss a white mixed-race singer in the 70s and the 80s, Yoon Soo-Il, in relation to the changed cultural meaning of white mixed-race figures. Born to a white American solider and a Korean mother, Yoon experienced social discrimination and shameful experiences when he was young. On the television talk show, *YeoYuManMan* (KBS-2, 2003-present) on April 13, 2011, he confessed that one of the hardest times during his school days was to sing the national anthem at a school assembly. He felt a sense of shame because he was constantly questioning whether or not he was a Korean. Moreover, his mother decided to get married for the second time to register Yoon with the family registry. When he visited his stepfather's siblings to introduce himself, he was asked to never visit them again. Although he became famous after his first debut song "Apartment" became a national hit, his popularity was only based on approval of his musical ability as a singer, not of his mixed-raciality. Hence, his racialized white body was not consumed as an exotic fantasy among Korean audiences in modern monoracial Korea due to the conservative understanding of race at that time. As I have discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, those mixed-race entertainers in modern monoracial Korea, such as Insooni and Yoon Soo-Il, were considered exceptions, rather than a cultural trend, and were not seen as desirable as they are today.

In contrast, it is interesting to note that white mixed-race celebrities have now become a trendy marker of globalism and a new ideal type of beauty in Korean popular culture. Many transnational celebrities who now appear on Korean television are mostly white mixed-race Koreans, such as Daniel Henney, Sean Richard,[18] and Ricky Kim.[19]

[18] Sean Richard is a white mixed-race Korean (male) who was born in Korea to a British father and a Korean mother, but he grew up in the US. He appeared on several Korean dramas in a minor role.

[19] Ricky Kim is a white mixed-race, Korean-American actor and model. He was born in the US to an American father and a Korean mother. Comparing Ricky with Daniel, Lo and Kim (2011) explain the difference between the two as such: "While Daniel is racialized with high-class Whiteness through his 'British' father and his construction as an English expert, Ricky is instead racialized with low-class Koreanness through his 'slips' into vulgar Korean, which are linked to his low-class Korean relatives" (p.

This indicates that white mixed-race figures, compared to other types of mixed-race people, have become cool, beautiful, and desirable. Given this trend, it seems certain that the cultural meaning of white mixed-race has been changed and upgraded from "absolute exclusion" to "fancy and trendy." It is in this context that I believe reading Daniel Henney's (racialized and commercialized) body on the screen provides an essential clue for unpacking this cultural "gap" between the past and present of mixed-race figures in Korean popular culture.

That Daniel Henney appeared on over 50 television commercials highlights his popularity among Korean audiences and demonstrates how his gentle, luxurious, romantic and sexy image appeals to a large consumer demographic. According to Tseng (2008), "Advertisers flocked to him, wanting to capitalize on his newfound fame, and soon he was all over the place, selling everything from cell phones to beer to clothing to cars." Among the commercial values that he embodies, his exotic appeal as a racial hybrid stands out because it is the foremost and most obvious marker of his "otherness." However, the point here is that this otherness is perceived more as attractive than as threatening to (Korean) audiences, which was exactly the opposite in the case of Yoon Soo-Il.

In an interview with the television commercial director Park Myung-Cheon, who produced the "Odyssey Sunrise" commercial – the first Korean television commercial featuring Henney – he explains the reason for casting Daniel Henney as follows: "While blond (white) foreign models are hard to appeal to the Koreans [because they are too exotic: my interpretation], the native Korean models are not refreshing enough to the Korean audiences as well. That's why I cast Henney for this role" ("Daniel Henney,"

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453). In other words, although they are both white mixed-race males, the cultural articulation differs depending on their birth country and cultural background.

2009). In addition, one commercial analyst says that "many Koreans think that his image is elegant and high-class, which, I believe, also originated from the coexistence of his exotic [Western: my interpretation] yet oriental look" (M.-G. Park, 2006). Put differently, Henney's racial otherness as a mixed-race celebrity plays like a double-edge sword, meaning his image is exotic enough to make the Korean audiences curious about him as well as familiar enough to make them feel intimate for sharing the same Koreanness (read: blood tie).

As a transnational fashion model, Henney has appeared in numerous ads featuring clothing and cosmetics. Not only Daniel Henney but also many other white mixed-race Koreans, such as Dennis Oh, Ricky Kim, and Julien Kang, are also modeling for men's clothing and cosmetics. It is notable that this popular status of white mixed-race celebrities is distinguishable from that of other types of mixed-race people, because neither black mixed-race nor Asian mixed-race individuals could achieve this level of popularity among Koreans. Hence, it can be argued that the dominant popularity of white mixed-race celebrities over other racial minorities in contemporary Korean popular culture demonstrates white supremacy in Korean popular culture (K. E. Park, 2011). Then, what does whiteness mean to contemporary Korean society, and how does it get articulated with other discourses?

To answer this question, one crucial point to be addressed is that whiteness is mediated through the beauty and cosmetics industry. As described above, racial hybridity becomes a visible trend in fashion and celebrity culture, and it is supported by the rhetoric that says "mixed-race people are beautiful/handsome because they can have the best of both worlds." This is clearly shown when beauty magazines and/or newspapers introduce Daniel Henney in a typical way that describes him as "the perfect combination of the West and the East." In the international male beauty magazine *August Man*'s

Singapore version (March 2012), Daniel Henney appears on the cover page with the title, "Daniel Henney: Transcends Transnational Eastern and Western Boundaries and Roles."[20] The value attached to his racial hybridity – that he can transgress and transcend both Eastern and Western boundaries (or that he can have the best of both East and West) – is mystified and commercialized in the articulation work of the beauty industry.

However, what is more important – what lies behind this logic of mystification about his hybridity – is that it indicates the transformation of masculinity in Korean popular culture within a larger context. Put differently, while Henney's mixed-raciality as a white Korean-American produces an exotic yet familiar appeal for Korean (and Asian to some extent) audiences, his metrosexual masculinity also stands out when it comes to the transnational production and consumption of his image of whiteness, social status, and transnational mobility in the larger context of globalizing Korean popular culture.

First introduced by the British journalist Mark Simpson (2002), the term metrosexual refers to "a young man with money to spend, living in or within easy reach of a metropolis – because that's where all the best shops, clubs, gyms and hairdressers are." In other words, metrosexuality signifies the lifestyle of a young man who is well informed about fashion and beauty trends and is well equipped with sophisticated cultural taste as well as financial stability. The global circulation of metrosexual masculinity indicates the changing aspects of masculinity in postmodern, contemporary society as it is a demonstration of male desire to be more physically attractive; therefore, it replaced the previous tough and macho masculinity with soft and sophisticated masculinity (S. Jung, 2011). In the same vein, Shugart (2008) argues that metrosexuality should be understood in the context of "masculinity in crisis" as well as "commercial masculinity." Beyond a

[20] To see the cover page, please go to http://www.whosdatedwho.com/tpx_51658/daniel-henney/magazinecovers

mere fad or trend, metrosexuality has become a cultural logic that provides a rationale for the commercialization of masculinity (Shugart, 2008).

This metrosexual trend in the global context, I believe, can also be translated into regional or local references. In the context of transnational consumption of popular culture in the region, in East Asia in particular, the global metrosexual trend is confluent with the new (male) aesthetic trend of *kkonminam* ("flower men" or "pretty boys") within the region. The term *kkonminam* is a compound word that combines the two Korean words "flower" and "a beautiful/handsome man." The *kkonminam* trend refers to Korea's changing social climate, including changing aesthetic values or norms, in the sense that a soft, pretty masculinity has become the hegemonic and desirable standard for males.

I believe this flower-men syndrome in Korea, which first appeared in the late 1990s, encapsulates the complex articulation of the neoliberal turn as well as the transformation of the beauty, entertainment, and media industries. Specifically, the pretty-boy trend in the East Asian region shows an interesting and significant shift in the media industry and its audience demographics. To put it differently, the *kkonminam* trend in Korea and East Asian countries at large indicates that female audiences are becoming major consumers of dramas as well as other cultural products in general since the social status of females has greatly improved economically and politically. In fact, one important factor of the flower-men trend is that it is a reflection of female desire/fantasy, given that female audiences want to see beautiful men playing a romantic role in a drama. The huge popularity of Bae Yong-Joon, the male protagonist in *Winter Sonata,* in Japan best exemplifies how transnational consumption of Korean popular culture and the *kkonminam* trend in particular have shaped the rise of soft masculinity in the region among female audiences (Hirata, 2008; S. Jung, 2011; Mori, 2008). Investigating the

Yonsama[21] craze among middle-aged female viewers, S. Jung (2011) argues that Japanese female audiences embraced and enthused about Bae Yong-Joon's soft masculinity because Japan had a pre-context of the pretty-boy syndrome even before the *Winter Sonata* hit. Therefore, in this sense, the *kkonminam* syndrome is an outcome of transnational consumption of soft masculinity between Japan and Korea, and "the shared imagination of pan-East Asian soft masculinity" in the region (S. Jung, 2011, p. 30).

Along the same lines, Erni and Chua (2005, p. 7) explain the shared norms of beauty in Asia by suggesting the term "racial proximity," which indicates that there is a shared aesthetic value of what is beautiful and good-looking within the region. In other words, racial proximity plays a significant role for audiences in Asia to prefer watching television programs produced in Japan and Korea because, for them, the Asian "yellow" face with a cosmopolitan look is more desirable for Asian audiences than the Western type of beauty. Given the context and arguments about the pretty boy/beautiful men trend and racial proximity in East Asia, the "odorless" Asian body – the pretty face with soft masculinity – is easily transferred to another culture. Referring to Iwabuchi's (2002) argument about the odorless character of Japanese popular culture that has successfully migrated to other Asian countries as well as to the US, S. Jung (2011) also describes the pretty boy/beautiful men trend in the region, empowered by the Korean Wave, as follows: "since the feminized masculine images of these pretty boys possess very similar characteristics, it is almost impossible to recognize their nationalities by their appearance" (p. 60). Put differently, the transnational circulation of the images of the Korean Wave celebrities, including boy-band idol stars as well as film/drama stars, mediates the pan-East Asian aesthetics for both males and females.

[21] The suffix '-sama' in the Japanese language refers to a designation that the Japanese used to express their respect and honor for loyal families. Given that, the word *Yonsama* shows the extent of Bae Young-Joon's popularity in Japan.

In this context, Henney's confluence with the pretty boy/flower men trend as well as the metrosexual trend is interesting because he brings the layer of "skin color" or "skin tone," another marker of race, into consideration within this cultural map of pan-East Asian aesthetics. Appreciated by the popularity of Korean television drama in the region, Daniel Henney's growing popularity around the globe proves that his good looks, with romantic, gentle, and cosmopolitan appeal, are consumable and desirable to mass audiences. Regarding the current racial reconfiguration and its association with the Korean Wave, M. Lee (2012) writes:

> As a part of this reconstitution, Korean bodies and identities are constituted as "global", as "Pan-Asian", as *mujeongguk* [non-nationality] through *Hallyu* aesthetic regiments, which tap into racial imaginaries and the workings of white privilege embedded in international relations discourses. The ways in which Korean identity is constructed as 'global' are compelled by the *Hallyu* industry connections to state and corporate campaigns that aim to brand the country for global economic competition. (M. Lee, 2012, p. 211)

Taking it one step further, I argue that Henney is a unique cultural text that shows how the notion of whiteness is (re)imagined and (re)constructed through the transnational consumption/circulation of Korean popular culture and how whiteness as a discourse works through its articulation with other social categories such as gender and class. What I am arguing is that Henney's (racial) identity as a white mixed-race celebrity does not necessarily mean white "race." It rather can be read as an articulation of desirable values (markers) of cosmopolitanism, soft masculinity, high social class as well as Americanness.

Embracing the metrosexual image, Henney has become one of the most prominent figures in the commercial market for men's beauty and fashion items. For instance, he has been appointed as a spokesperson for several different cosmetics brands such as Biotherm (a global brand) and Amore Pacific (a domestic brand). As I mentioned

above, the first television commercial that Henney made was Amore Pacific's "Odyssey Sunrise" for men, and the ad successfully mobilized Henney's exotic and metrosexual image for Korean audiences.[22] In addition, it is worthwhile to note that he has been a spokesperson of Biotherm Homme Korea for over 5 years. Given the emergence and expansion of the men's skin care products/industry in the past few decades, it is certain that his metrosexual image coupled with an exotic appeal play an important role in shaping neoliberal subjectivity. The transformation of the media/entertainment and beauty industries, in turn, complicates our understanding of racial globalization.

One of the most important aspects of neoliberal subjectivity is the technology of self (Foucault, 1986; Harvey, 2005). In other words, designing a person's life from their physical appearance to career becomes the central logic of neoliberal practice. This subjectivity formulation places the responsibility for poverty on individuals rather than society. In other words, to succeed, one has to design oneself to be more sellable and attractive. The socio-cultural craze about building a recognizable/distinguishable spec in terms of one's career and the obsession with fitness to be physically attractive can be explained in this context. The social boom in plastic surgery for both males and females in Korea is absolutely one type of everyday life practice involving neoliberal logics. According to one report (Daily-Mail-Reporter, 2012), "Korea now has the highest number of surgeries performed per capita, overtaking Brazil as the plastic surgery capital of the world." It is gradually becoming common for both men and women to have a small-scale plastic surgery (such as eyelid surgery or Botox) to be more attractive not only for aesthetic reasons but also for social reasons, such as getting a job (S. M. Han, 2012).

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[22] Henney's "Odyssey Sunrise" commercial can be viewed at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bySCzlvl9T0

Tying into the development of the beauty industry, the skincare industry also plays a key role, encompassing both the beauty industry as well as beauty discourse in Korean society. The term *pibu-meein* ("skin beauty") demonstrates the importance of clean skin to (Korean) notions of beauty. This trend is not limited to females but embraces male consumers as well. Men's beauty magazines and cosmetic brand lines indicate that males, together with females, have become powerful consumers of beauty products today.

What is interesting about Biotherm Homme's commercials, for which Henney has been a spokesman for over 5 years, is that Henney mostly advertizes for sun-blocks and whitening peels, which utilizes his whiteness as a commercial marketing strategy.[23] His clean facial skin with black-and-white visual effects makes his face even shinier, cleaner, and whiter. Given that the whitening cosmetics are used to target females, there have been a few studies on changes in the cosmetic industry and women's desire to be "whiter" in Asia (Ashikari, 2005; Glenn, 2009; Kawashima, 2002; Koshy, 2001; Leonard, 2008; Parameswaran & Cardoza, 2009; Saraswati, 2010). Critiquing the previous scholarship that has argued that the boom in skin-whitening shows women's desire to emulate "Caucasian" whiteness and upper-class white populations, these more recent studies have demonstrated how skin color intersects with other types of categories, such as nation, class, race, and gender. Specifically, Ashikari (2005), Rondilla (2009), and Saraswati (2010) insist that the skin-whitening practice does not always signify the same thing, but differs depending on cultural context. In the Japanese case, skin tone has functioned as a visible marker of Japaneseness. According to Ashikari (2005), "the Japanese white skin as one of the important symbols of Japaneseness has been imagined

[23] Please refer to the video links for Henney's television commercials for Biotherm Homme:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lj669oD-7lc&feature=player_embedded (skin care)
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JTGYguqyL4Q&feature=player_embedded (whitening)

in reference to the changing meaning of 'race', and aesthetic taste concerning skin tone rooted in the domestic history and culture has cooperated with the racialization of skin color" (p. 84). Along the same lines, closely reading skin-whitening ads that appeared in the Indonesian fashion magazine *Cosmo*, Saraswati (2010) introduces the notion of "cosmopolitan whiteness" and argues that whiteness is transnationalized, transcending racial and national boundaries. Saraswati argues:

> Cosmopolitan whiteness is a signifier without a racialized, signified body. Cosmopolitan whiteness can and has been modeled by women from Japan to South Korea to the United States. There is no one race or ethnic group in particular that can occupy an authentic cosmopolitan white location because there has never been a "real" whiteness to begin with: whiteness is a virtual quality, neither real nor unreal (Saraswati, 2010, p. 18).

I believe this is where the cultural meaning of whiteness furcates: whiteness does not necessarily work as a racial/ethnic category all the time, but it can be a desirable quality of transnational mobility and/or beauty that is imagined among people who actively produce/consume the meaning of whiteness. Therefore, by decoupling whiteness from a racial category, whiteness can acquire cosmopolitan/transnational status through articulating upper and high class consumers around the world. In the same vein, Henney's appearances on a variety of television commercials indicate cosmopolitan whiteness in the sense that whiteness is rather a desirable marker of global-ness than a desire to be racially Caucasian. The cultural values associated with Daniel Henney's whiteness, such as gentle, high-class, metrosexual, chic, and transnational, even bolster the characteristics of cosmopolitan whiteness. If we look at the list of his television commercials and how he has been represented, it becomes much more obvious how commercial Korean television utilizes Henney's global, cosmopolitan whiteness. Scanning this list, it is remarkable that he mostly appeared selling "the highest value and the most profitable"

goods, such as electronics (from cell phones to television sets to telecommunication companies), apartments, cars, and luxury goods.

One of the most important examples to analyze would be a series of television commercial series featuring Daniel Henney and Hollywood star Gwyneth Paltrow for the clothing brand Bean Pole International. Specifically, according to a *Korean Times* article on Henney's Bean Pole International commercials,[24] the local business strategically cast transnational celebrities to globalize their brand image:

> Bean Pole is a casual clothing brand of Cheil Industries, a Samsung affiliate. "In order to become a global brand, we must focus on producing high-quality products along with a high-class image," said Won Jong-Mu, vice president of Cheil Industries. "To enhance brand awareness of Bean Pole abroad, we have decided to designate Gwyneth Paltrow and Daniel Henney as our new models." According to the official, Paltrow's elegant and intellectual image and Korean-American Henney's exotic features are considered to represent Bean Pole's "Collection Line," a premium line that will be launched in the fall, as "chic and stylish." ("Gwyneth Paltrow Appear in Korean Ad," 2005)

By casting transnational celebrities Daniel Henney and Gwyneth Paltrow, "Bean Pole sales were up 28.1 percent from a year earlier compared to an 8 percent year-on-year increase during the first half of the year," reported *JoongAng Daily* (Tseng, 2008). These numbers clearly indicate that the marketing strategy of using transnational celebrities to globalize the brand was a big success. Analyzing all four Bean Pole International television ads, it is interesting to note that all of them were shot in London (one of the most well-known metropolitan cities in the world). The ads show the modern, classic image of the City of London and two white Western models (Henney and Paltrow)

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[24] The television commercial for Bean Pole International has several sequels featuring Daniel Henney and Gwyneth Paltrow. To watch all four of them, please visit
(1) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OJ8DPeOvNYQ&feature=player_embedded,
(2) http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=XppnUB_dHaI, (2005-09-01)
(3) http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=mlG2KPlzH-4
(4) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r3bDsDJvv0I (2006-10-19)

working in the city wearing elegant-look clothing (made by Bean Pole). Without any narration and only presenting the images of transnational celebrities like Henney and Paltrow in London, the ads successfully visualize the image of cosmopolitan and global subjects.

More interestingly, unlike the first two ads, which do not have any narration except for Henney's voiceover of "Bean Pole International" at the end, the other two ads look even more global by having English narration with Korean subtitles, which is very odd for a Korean ad. Henney and Paltrow's English narration gives much more authentic cosmopolitan appeal because what matters is *who* speaks English. This approach would have been less desirable if it was a native Korean celebrity (or any other ethnic celebrity) speaking in accented English because there is a shared notion of what "standard" English should be, such as British-English or American English. It is in this context that Henney's speaking fluent English as an American, together with his whiteness, produces authentic cosmopolitan appeal to general (transnational) audiences. Thus, Henney is preferred to speak in English (than Korean) in some of the roles in Korean dramas and commercials, because "the construction of Daniel as an English 'expert' aligns him with the figures of the high-class white professional and the high status Korean speaker of English" (Lo & Kim, 2011, p. 447).

The tension lies in his double identity as a Korean-American, mixed-race celebrity. People, on the one hand, want him to be a faithful Korean and expect him to speak Korean well. One the other hand, however, people simultaneously want to consume his Western and cosmopolitan outlook that is articulated by his whiteness and Americanness. What I am arguing here is that his fame as a "white" mixed-race is not merely a matter of race or skin color, but what matters is a certain mode of articulation that his white mixed-raciality brings about. As I have elaborated above, his cosmopolitan

whiteness articulates a variety of different layers in contemporary East Asian or global culture, such as the (Asian) norm of beauty, the neoliberal subjectivity of flexible citizenship/identity, the value of English in today's global world and its association with (transnationalized) Americanness. In this sense, I argue that Henney's cosmopolitan whiteness is a neoliberal articulation of a particular mode of Koreanness and whiteness. In short, Henney's whiteness is not a mere indication of race; rather, it indexes many other categories, such as (trans)nationality, beauty, gender, and class, through intersecting all of them.

4.4 Conclusion

I have examined how the cultural meaning of mixed-race has shifted in contemporary Korean popular culture through reading Daniel Henney as cultural site of contestation. By situating white mixed-race figures within the historical context of Korea's modern monoracial period through the contemporary multicultural global era, I attempt to not only historicize the contested meaning of whiteness but also point out different ruptures that whiteness creates in its articulation with other indexes, such as nationality, gender, and class, in contemporary Korean popular culture. Through primarily getting articulated with transnational mobility and flexible identity, Henney's Koreanness is highlighted in the work of commercial Korean media as a way to promote the national brand image of global Korea. Moreover, his (exotic) whiteness is presented as a desirable marker of cosmopolitan metrosexuality through its articulation with the beauty/fashion industry and through the work of whitening the Korean Wave. These different layers of "conjunctures" that Henney embraces indicate that whiteness has never been a stable category in Korea. In other words, whiteness, just like blackness, has

always reconfigured itself in a relation to Koreanness because it is not what used to be thought as Korean.

However, under the neoliberal impulse of market forces and the multicultural desire of the state, the Korean commercial media is smoothing the historical ruptures associated with the category of white mixed-race. It significantly rearranges its cultural meaning from that of modern monoracial Korea. Unlike the Hines Ward moment, where his blackness and mixed-raciality were discussed under the frame of multiculturalism and the battle over the state's multicultural policy, Henney's whiteness and transnational mobility have a primary association with the neoliberal market impulse of the Korean media industry. This means that Henney, as a white mixed-race celebrity, does not have to fight for cultural recognition or engage in a multicultural battle because whiteness is already desirable and has cultural currency. Instead, the neoliberal commercializing project becomes the leading factor in the case of Daniel Henney, which makes Henney's racialized body almost endlessly marketable/sellable. In contrast, while Ward's blackness has also been commercialized and glamorized through the work of Korean commercial media, it contains certain limitations. His blackness was spotlighted only in the framework of nationalist multiculturalism and his physical ability as a black male athlete, which illuminates the different racialization process between black and white Amerasians.

Chapter 5. Multicultural Reality?: Reality Television and the Struggle for the Koreanness of Multicultural Subjects

In 2012, for the first time in Korean politics, Jasmine Lee – a female migrant woman who was born in the Philippines and was naturalized as a Korean citizen after she married a Korean spouse – was elected as a congresswoman by proportional representation for the 19th Congress. It was a symbolic event in that she is the first congressperson elected as a naturalized Korean in Korean history. Considering that there have been some other naturalized Koreans who became famous, such as Ida Daussy (France), Robert Harley (America), and Bernhard Quandt (German), all of whom are white Westerners, it is significant that this female marriage migrant from the Philippines became the first naturalized congressperson. It demonstrates that multiculturalism has now become one of the essential and urgent governmental agendas, and multicultural subjects – 'Kosian,' female marriage migrants, multicultural families, immigrant workers, and Korean-Chinese – are considered crucial in governmental policy. Lee's election was impossible without organizational and governmental support. Due to the need for a representative who can give multicultural subjects a political voice, the project of "Making the First Female Marriage Migrant Politician" first launched in 2008, initiated by the Institute for Female Politics and sponsored by the Ministry of Gender and Family. Lee was one of the participants in 2010, and she was the first actual "fruit" of this project. The project was also nicknamed the "Korean Obama" project by the Korean media (S.-S. Kim, 2008; S.-S. Lim, 2009), as it was a political project for female marriage migrants and their multicultural families to speak out for themselves. The implication is that Korea might have a mixed-race celebrity like President Obama in the near future who is born to a multicultural family in Korea.

This so-called "Korean Obama" project is symbolic and significant because Obama here is a fictional character labeled by the Korean media as a way to call out to 'Kosians' and multicultural families (or even to multicultural subjects in general) in Korean society. In other words, it demonstrates the state (or media)'s inability to find any spectacular 'Kosian' figures and/or multicultural subjects that they can rely on, because there has been no such character in Korean society. Those multicultural subjects are marginalized in Korean society and have not been celebrated as media events like either the "Ward moment" or "Henney moment," since they mostly come from economically less developed countries, which is not a desirable trait to general Koreans. Therefore, the government and media had to interpellate a fictional figure, President Obama, who is one of the most successful politicians in the world as a mixed-race person who was born and raised in multicultural contexts. In other words, the "Korean Obama" project signifies that the Korean government is desperately in need of an analogous symbolic figure to reach its multicultural subjects as well as to produce an ideological construction of the "Korean Dream." This construct promises that the Korean Dream is (will be) possible and a "Korean Obama" will be possible in the near future.

Since there has been no spectacular 'Kosian' figure who is celebrated as much as Hines Ward and Daniel Henney in the Korean televisual landscape, those racial others who are not Amerasians but central to the multicultural discussion – Korean-Chinese, female marriage migrants, and migrant workers – are selectively chosen and elevated in the realm of reality programs, although not ardently celebrated. This fact is an important key for shaping this chapter. Put differently, it explains why the reality television arena becomes crucial to understand multicultural and neoliberal battles and the struggle for Koreanness in contemporary Korean television. Given the fact that there have been no multicultural subjects who have gained as much popularity as Hines Ward and Daniel

Henney, multicultural subjects are not desirable subjects at all in the eyes of Korean commercial popular culture. Instead, it should be highlighted that those people appear much more frequently on reality shows as a way to illustrate the multicultural reality of Korea.

The reasons for the absence of 'Kosian' or (Asian) immigrant stars bring up important points about multiculturalism in the Korean media landscape. While the Amerasian celebrities in the previous chapters are media figures who are "out there" to be easily picked as a symbolic marker on which to project the national desire to be multicultural and global, ordinary racial minorities are "internalized" racial others who are near to our daily lives. Thus, there has been more of an everyday circulation of the images and discourses about them through the genre of reality television. Put differently, ordinary racial minorities, who are crucial subjects in the multicultural discussion in Korea, are shown on reality television programs in order to illustrate that Korea's current diversity is *not* due to celebrity culture, but due to the ordinariness of racial others in Korea. In this process, some characters, such as Jasmine Lee, have emerged and been elevated as recognizable figures, although rarely as superstars.

Given this context, I analyze two exemplary reality television shows where those "Korean Obama" characters keep popping up and are elevated to some degree in the work of the state and market pressures to shape multicultural reality. One is *Love in Asia*, which is an explicitly multicultural show dedicated to representing female marriage migrants and multicultural families in Korea. It is important to note, in this context, that Jasmine Lee (and her family) first gained public attention through *Love in Asia* as the main protagonist of Episode 67 (aired on 2007-04-07). This fact indicates that the show has an intention to produce/introduce successful "Korean Obama" cases in our daily lives. The other show is a reality-survival-audition program called *The Great Birth*.

Although *The Great Birth* is not an explicitly multicultural reality program, by virtue of the show's commercial interests, the winner of the first season happened to be a Korean-Chinese (presented as another type of "Korean Obama" within the show), which makes the show important to analyze. Through analyzing the shows in relation to the multicultural subjects whom each program has addressed, I explicate how the struggle for Koreanness takes places in the reality television genre, which particularly pursues and shapes the "reality" of a multicultural Korea. I also discuss how the statist multicultural impulse and neoliberal market forces complicate our understanding of the racialization process in Korean television.

5.1 The Landscape of Reality Television in Korea: Contextualizing *Love in Asia* and *The Great Birth*

As many scholars of reality television have pointed out, the genre of reality television evolved as a mutation of the television documentary (Corner, 2002; Hill, 2007; Kilborn, 1994, 2003; Nichols, 1994). According to Corner (2002), while television documentary puts importance on "publicity" and "sociality," reality television places more emphasis on "personalized stories" and "personality" while appropriating the techniques of documentary. Along the same lines, Kilborn (1994) defines "reality program" as an "attempt to simulate real-life events through various forms of dramatized reconstruction and the incorporation of this material, in suitably edited form, into an attractively packaged television programme" (p. 423). The traditional clear-cut understanding between the real and the fictional has no longer been adequate to understand the characteristics of reality television shows today because the boundary between reality and fiction has been significantly blurred, which requires a new understating of reality television (Hill, 2007; Nichols, 1994). What has changed is the

way that television constructs reality. In other words, while the primary goal in the era of reality documentary was to represent reality as closely as possible to the real, the goal of reality programs in the "postdocumentary television era" (Corner, 2002) is to show how people *perform* reality.

This transition in reality television started in the late 1980s in America and the UK as a way to overcome economic hardship on the production side (Corner, 2002; Hetsroni, 2011; McMurria, 2009). In the global television context, it is very well documented that the huge success of American reality television shows such as *Survivor, American Idol,* and *Who Wants to be a Millionaire* in the global market transformed the global television industry, and the reality television format soon became a global phenomenon (Hetsroni, 2011; M. M. Kraidy & Sender, 2011; McMurria, 2009). Buying these successful reality television formats produced in the UK and the US, many other countries around the world produced their own type of reality television shows, adopting local "flavor" to appeal to local audiences, which became a good example of glocalization (Hetsroni, 2011; Keane, Fung, & Moran, 2007; Sujeong Kim, 2010; Moran & Keane, 2004).

Korea has also enjoyed the popular emergence of reality television since the 2000s. While Korean reality programs in the 1990s mostly dealt with sensational subjects, utilizing realistic, documentary-type techniques (in this period, reality programs on terrestrial broadcasting channels were mostly humanistic approaches to social minorities), reality programs have become more and more entertaining and commercialized since the 2000s (Y. Kim & Park, 2006). This new type of reality television was first initiated by cable television channels as they experienced a shortage of production funding and low ratings. Given these circumstances, reality programming was quickly adopted and appreciated. Starting in the 2000s, reality-variety shows created

a strong trend in terrestrial broadcasting channels, and various types of reality-audition programs in particular were at their peak in the late 2000s and early 2010s (KOCCA, 2011). According to J. Lee (2002) who has studied the history of reality television in Korea, reality programs are now becoming a general trend in the entertainment genre across a variety of sub-genres, including game shows, variety, music, fashion, cooking, etc., in contemporary Korean television. It is, as Yang (2006) puts it, the "golden age of reality television."[25]

Meanwhile, Korean media scholars have pointed out that while reality television studies are largely focusing on American television shows, such as *Survivor, CIS*, and *American Idol*, not many studies have focused on local variations of the reality television format and the different cultural meanings of reality programs in different contexts. Hence, it is argued that we need more contextualized and historicized studies on reality television and its cultural meaning in Korea. On these grounds, Korean media scholars have now started to explore Korean reality programs (E. Choi & Kim, 2010; S.-M. Choi & Kang, 2012; Sujeong Kim, 2010; Y.-C. Kim, 2005; Y. Kim & Park, 2006). Yet, there are still important gaps in the scholarship. In particular, although these studies use close textual analysis to explicate the implications of reality television in contemporary Korean television within the context of social changes and media industrial changes, there has been no research on how race is articulated in this formation of neoliberal globalization and global circulation of the reality television format. Hence, I would call attention to an important point: reality programs mediate race (racial diversity) to project the idea of a

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[25] According to Yang (2006), there were about 30 reality programs, counting both terrestrial and cable channels, as of 2006, and two of the most popular sub-genres in reality television are the "solution program" and the "survival-audition program." Solution programs basically aim to settle civil complaints from the audience on behalf of the program. One of the most popular programs was *Emergency Rescue SOS 24* (SBS, 2005-2011), which visited the very spot where an incident such as family violence took place, and settled the issues.

global Korea, a diverse Korea, and a dynamic Korea by casting foreign celebrities and racial others. Those reality programs certainly indicate a particular (mode of) articulation between race and reality television in commercial, entertainment television. Moreover, it seems certain that the increase in reality programs provides a space for including racial others in the televisual landscape.

As I have elaborated in Chapter 2, there are a couple of reality programs that cast racial/ethnic celebrities as well as ordinary racial minorities in terrestrial broadcasting channels. Among those, Table 6 below lists the reality shows that, whether mainly or partially, cast *ordinary* racial others on terrestrial channels. The first three shows – *Love in Asia*, *A Chat with Beauties*, and *Nice to Meet You, In-Law!* – can be categorized as (explicitly) multicultural shows in that their primary cast members are either multicultural subjects or foreigners, whereas the remaining shows on the list are survival-audition programs, which are not explicitly multicultural shows yet recruit some participants from abroad. Among those explicitly multicultural shows, *Love in Asia* and *A Chat with Beauties*, are the most successful. (*Nice to Meet You, In-Law!* was short-lived). One of the essential differences between the two is that *Love in Asia* focuses on female marriage migrants and their multicultural families (mostly from Asia) whereas *A Chat with Beauties* focuses on young (mostly single) females who are temporally living in Korea (mostly from America, Europe and Asia).[26] Although *A Chat with Beauties* is an important multiculturalist text in that the show has produced some celebrity-like characters, *Love in Asia* is the more relevant text for analysis in this chapter given that it deals with one of the crucial multicultural subjects of the statist policy – female marriage migrants and their multicultural families.

[26] For a more in-depth comparison of the two shows, please refer to Y.-H. Choi (2010).

Title	Genre	Network	Period	Note
Love in Asia	(hybrid) Reality-documentary	KBS-1	2005-present	Explicitly multicultural show
Nice to Meet You, In-Law	(hybrid) Reality-documentary	SBS	2007-2009	Explicitly multicultural show
A Chat with Beauties	Reality-talk show	KBS-1 & 2	2006-2010	Explicitly multicultural show
Great Birth	Reality-survival audition	MBC	2010-present	music
K-Pop Star	Reality-survival audition	SBS	2011-present	music
Top Band	Reality-survival audition	KBS-2	2011-present	music
Miracle Audition	Reality-survival audition	SBS	2011	action

Table 6: The list of reality shows that have cast racial others on terrestrial channels

Although the reality-audition program is not a primary multicultural show in the sense that it does not recruit foreigners as main cast members, a growing amount of ethnic diversity within the genre, particularly in music, is significant because the logic of reality-audition programs enables the presence of various groups of racial others, including mixed-race, ethnic Korean, and other kinds of racial minorities. As seen from Table 6, it is notable that every terrestrial channel has its own (music) reality-audition program. Considering that K-pop is going global and the market is growing much larger these days, Korean television is eager to utilize the popularity of the Korean Wave to appeal to domestic as well as international audiences. Hence, it is not surprising that there have been a handful of foreigners who have auditioned due to their love of K-pop. The first few rounds are held abroad, in locations such as the US, Europe (France), Asia (China), and Latin America (Argentina). To name a few, Julie Chabrol (France, *K-Pop*

Star), Erin Young (America, *K-Pop Star*), Nicole Curry (America, *K-Pop Star*), Sam Carter (England, *The Great Birth*), Punita Bajaj (America, *The Great Birth*), Shayne Orok (Canada, *The Great Birth*) and Baek Chung-Kang (China, *The Great Birth*) came from abroad and got some media attention.

The appearance of these racial others in reality-audition programs indicates how these programs consume their otherness. In other words, the shows introduce racial others in a multiculturalist way, highlighting where they are coming from and how diverse the audition participants are. For this reason, it is possible to see some diverse participants for the first two rounds in order to make the show more global, multicultural, and fair, since the programs consume their otherness as a marker of (cultural) diversity. Despite the diversity, however, it is interesting to note that final winners of these programs have always been native Koreans (except for *The Great Birth*), which demonstrates that these shows are *not* about multicultural subjects, but about and for (general) Koreans.

However, what makes *The Great Birth* an interesting case is that, regarding racial politics in Korean popular culture, the winner of the first season, Baek Chung-Kang, was *not* a native full-blood Korean, but a Korean-Chinese who came from Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture – a Korean-Chinese city in China. Although there had been a couple of foreigners who got media attention in the reality-audition programs because of their otherness, they were racially white or coming from the West (particularly America), which indicates they were desirable to Korean television because of the whitening of K-Pop. In this context, that a non-Western affiliated foreigner won first place in a reality-audition program is significant because the "Korean Obama" character that I introduced earlier in this chapter emerged and gained status in the reality-audition genre.

In this chapter, I analyze two representative reality shows that have particularly produced "Korean Obama" characters as recognizable multicultural subjects. *Love in*

Asia is a typical multicultural reality program that is dedicated to representing the core of multicultural subjects: female marriage migrants, their mixed-race children ('Kosians'), and their multicultural families. Aired on a public broadcasting channel, state-led multiculturalism is the leading force that drives the show, although it is not the only driving force. While *Love in Asia* aims to show the multicultural battle within the frame of a public broadcasting channel and reality-documentary format, *The Great Birth* utilizes racial diversity as a way to show the neoliberal, global reality of Korea under the format of the reality-survival-audition program. Through examining how *The Great Birth* weaves a hero narrative for Baek Chung-Kang's win from the perspective of the program, participants, and audience, I argue that the program provides a discursive space for the Korean Dream, which overshadows racial antagonism in the work of the neoliberal restructuring of Korean society. Reading the globalization of Korea's multicultural reality through two different types of reality shows, this chapter insists that ethnic nationalism under the battle of multiculturalism and neoliberalism rearticulates/revitalizes its methods to continue working as a nation-building project.

5.2 Internalized (Racial) Others: *Love in Asia* and State-Sponsored Multiculturalism

As the only multicultural show that is still running, *Love in Asia* is worth analyzing for three important reasons.[27] First of all, it is aired on a public broadcasting channel (KBS-1), which signifies that fairness, the public interest, and governmental policies are essential values to pursue. As a matter of fact, KBS-1, a state-sponsored, public broadcasting channel, is trying hard to improve social awareness of cultural

[27] Since its first episode on November 5, 2005, *Love in Asia* has aired a total of 360 episodes as of April 9, 2013. It is scheduled for Tuesday evening from 7pm to 8pm, which is a prime time slot for families to watch television.

diversity and cultural differences, since the number of foreigners as well as multicultural families has leapt within the past decade. Thus, these factors clearly show how the program presents and formulates the idea of state-led multiculturalism or cultural diversity/human rights. Secondly, being broadcasted on KBS-1, the program enjoys a fairly high audience rating. *Love in Asia* has hit 13% (nationwide) on average over the past 7 years. This stable rating proves that the program is much enjoyed by many audiences in Korea, which also indicates that the show is influential in creating a public forum and increasing social awareness on issues like multiculturalism and cultural diversity. Last of all, it is a reality television show that combines a traditional documentary format (also known as "direct cinema," which puts an emphasis on the direct depiction of reality) with humanistic and entertaining flavors to make the show lighter and more entertaining rather than serious and socio-political (K. S. Lee, 2006). Through examining how the generic conventions of this hybrid reality documentary program articulates multicultural issues and narrates the real lives of 'Kosians' and multicultural families, I expect to study the particular relation between the television genre of reality programming and race, which has largely been overlooked in television studies.

To briefly introduce the show, *Love in Asia* is unique in that it is the longest-running television program among those that claim to be a multicultural show. The basic format of the show consists of two parts. The first half is to show pre-videotaped documentary of the everyday lives of female marriage migrants and their multicultural families. Through this video-document, the program shows the protagonists' happy life in Korea as well as their struggles and concerns about living in Korea. After watching this video clip, together with announcers, multicultural panels, and in-studio-audiences, the show brings the family onto the studio set and shares some conversations, which make

the documented video much more "real." The second half shows the multicultural families visiting the non-Korean female marriage migrants' homeland all together so that they can actually meet their non-Korean spouses' (foreign) families face to face.[28]

Although the show's main cast has been mostly female marriage migrants, it is significant to note that the program aired a 5-week-special series on "the Dreams of Multicultural Families' Children" to celebrate its 300th episode (see Table 7).

Episode	**Title**	**Non-Korean Spouse**	**Country of Origin**
300	23-years-old Min-Ho's Special Travel	Wife/mother	Malaysia
301	The Story of Black-Pearls Sisters in Chejoo (Hyun-Jin and Yoon-Joo)	Wife/mother	Sri Lanka
302	The New Start of Eun-Ah's Family	Wife/mother	Ecuador
303	Jang-Mi and Yeon-Hwa's Special Greeting New Year	Wife/mother	Myanmar
304	Attaching Wings to Min-Seo's Dream	Husband/father	Pakistan

Table 7: The titles of selected episodes of *Love in Asia*

My analysis will primarily focus on this series, because it particularly pays keen attention to the lives of the mixed-race children of multicultural families who have typically been represented as a secondary subject on the show. Since the series is more focused on the dynamic between mixed-race children and their (multicultural) parents, the series balance the struggles of 'Kosians' as well as female marriage migrants through paying attention to mixed-race children of multicultural families. Through reading those episodes within the broader context of the show, I investigate how *Love in Asia* shapes the racial order and (re)defines Koreanness in the genre of reality television.

[28] In the early stages of the show, the production team visited female marriage migrants' homeland on their behalf with gifts and ready-made video clips to show their families because the financial budget was not enough at that time. For more detailed information on and analysis of the show, please refer to K. S. Lee (2006).

5.2.1 "Multicultural Reality" as a National Project: State-led Multiculturalism and the Technique of Inclusion and Exclusion

Studying the history of the human documentary genre in Korean television, J. Lee (2002) argues that the central theme of human documentaries has been shaped by various social changes. In the '60s and '70s, social development and overcoming hardship are primary themes, whereas the documentary genre turned its focus to the everyday life of ordinary people and social minorities as it entered the '90s and the 2000s. This change reflects the social transformation of the media environment that I have elaborated in Chapter 2. In the modern monoracial Korea, when the state and media enjoyed their strong ideological tie and television was an engine for the modernization project and cultivating national culture, *Human Victory* (KBS 1968-1980), a human documentary program which aired on KBS for over 22 years, primarily cast heroic individuals who became successful through overcoming their hardships. In this way, the program aimed to ignite patriotic emotions in audiences and to modernize the nation through these patriotic/symbolic figures for national development (M.-J. Lim, 2009, p. 22).

However, in recent years, the human documentary genre has deviated more and more from this traditional model. It has become more privatized and personalized, as the central power of state/media become decentralized (Corner, 2002). Therefore, the contemporary human documentary has also been getting more entertaining, soft, and commercialized (M.-J. Lim, 2009). Succeeding *Human Victory* with much more personalized and entertaining interests, *Human Theatre* (KBS-1, 2000-present) has been another long-living television human documentary program in contemporary Korean television. Put differently, while *Human Victory* centered on the stories of patriotic figures in the modernization project, *Human Theatre*, as the title of the show illustrates, is more interested in showing every ordinary people and their ordinary life stories.

One interesting point to be addressed here is that although not an explicitly multicultural program, *Human Theatre* has tried to show the various "faces" of ordinary people in Korea because it is a human documentary aired on a state-sponsored channel. Given that this program aims to portray the daily lives of Koreans, it is important to note that the number of episodes dealing with representations of racial minorities, including mixed-race people, female marriage migrants, multicultural families, and foreigners, have recently increased (Jia Hong & Kim, 2010; J. Lee, 2002). This trend certainly connotes that Korea now begins to include these minorities in imagining a Korean nation.

The popularity of *Love in Asia* should be understood within this historical tradition of reality-documentary programming in Korea. The program utilizes the technique of human documentary from the "direct cinema" tradition as a way to emphasize reality; however, it also has a variation, such as a studio set and a studio audience, to bring some entertaining and softening aspects. Although it is certain that the show is a hybrid of genres like human documentary, entertainment, and education (K. S. Lee, 2006), it still sticks to the traditional notion of the reality-fiction dichotomy in the reality-documentary genre in a larger sense, given that it aims to promote public awareness on multicultural families and fits much better in the genre of education than that of entertainment.

At this point, the fact that the show airs on KBS-1 becomes important, because KBS, like many other public broadcasting networks, including Australia's SBS and the UK's BBC, tries to inform viewers and increase social awareness on social and national agendas. In particular, *Love in Asia*, as the only surviving multicultural show in national terrestrial broadcasting, aims to pursue cultural diversity and increase social awareness on multiculturalism and racial diversity. In other words, *Love in Asia* is expected to

showcase racial others in our daily lives and introduce their struggles and conflicts to better understand them as members of Korean society.

As explained in the previous chapters, the most targeted beneficiaries of the current multicultural policy are female marriage migrants, mostly from near Asia, and their mixed-race children. They are the main subjects of inclusion and assimilation compared to other racial minorities in Korea because they acquire Korean citizenship either through social affiliation like marriage (in the case of female marriage migrants) or through filial tie (in the case of their mixed-race children). Due to this (social and legal) affiliation, they are more likely to be represented on reality documentary programs than any other racial minorities, such as immigrant workers. Hence, the fact that *Love in Asia* is dedicated to representing female marriage migrants and their multicultural family is important because it illuminates a particular aspect of Korean multiculturalism that is much more inclusive towards multicultural families as an assimilation policy (Ahn, 2013).

What is interesting in terms of *Love in Asia*'s casting is that Asian female marriage migrants are the largest group, which indicates the current migration pattern in Korea. According to a previous study on *Love in Asia* (Y.-H. Choi, 2010, p. 27), 138 out of 200 episodes (about 70%) cast Asian female marriage migrants. Although the racial ratio is getting more inclusive these days, Asian immigrants and their mixed-race children known as 'Kosians' are still the primary target population of its casting policy. Given that female marriage migrants and multicultural families are the most important subjects in governmental foreign population policy, it is significant to address that *Love in Asia* visualizes and concretizes state-led multiculturalism through not only primarily casting the government's most targeted subjects but also closely working with governmental institutions, introducing how governmental projects affect the daily of cast members. In

other words, *Love in Asia* weaves state-led multiculturalism policy with the everyday life experiences of the immigrants and multicultural families in Korea through the reality documentary format.

In this sense, it needs to be highlighted that the program is (externally) affiliated with state policies on multiculturalism. For instance, the program awards "multicultural awards" so that KBS can discover and support model multicultural families who have successfully assimilated into Korean society. Moreover, there was a joint wedding ceremony for multicultural families and North Korean defectors who have lived in and started families in Korea but were not able to have a wedding ceremony due to their economic condition. The ceremony was held by KBS and aired on *Love in Asia*, a reciprocal arrangement that encapsulates the relations between state and media as a way to foster multiculturalism as a national project.

Taking it one step further, some of the multicultural panelists are playing a very active role in raising a political voice about the issues of immigrants and multicultural families. As introduced earlier in this chapter, Jasmine Lee was herself a protagonist of Episode 67. She not only continued to participate in *Love in Asia* as a multicultural panelist but has been also working with various organizations for multicultural families and female migrants. She has also appeared in a few films and television shows, including an educational program called *Korean for Foreigners: Middle Level* (EBS) and the film *Punch* (2011). Moreover, she began lecturing on the multicultural family and multiculturalism on both television programs and in seminars/public meetings even more rigorously after she became a congresswoman in 2012. Not only Jasmine Lee, but also Iresha – another multicultural panelist on *Love in Asia* as well as a participant in the "Korean Obama" project – has become an important figure actively working for female marriage migrants and multicultural families.

Given this strong tie between *Love in Asia* and state-led multiculturalism policy, *Love in Asia* constructs the multicultural reality of Korean society and plays a significant role in propelling multiculturalism as a national project not only through documenting the everyday lives of multicultural families and their mixed-race children but also through connecting to various types of state-led policies on multicultural families. However, although public interest and governmental policy are one of the major leading forces,, it should be also highlighted that there are other forces, such as market pressure and audience taste, that shape the multicultural characteristics of the show. These factors will be further elaborated in the following section through a close reading of how the program frames multiculturalism and what this means to Korean society.

5.2.2 Visualizing Multiculturalism and Nostalgia for Developmental Nationalism

One of the most obvious aspects in terms of the multicultural setting of the show is that the program views culture as a one-to-one application. In other words, it approaches each country's culture in a simple and convenient way. One clear example is the studio setting. As I mentioned above, the program has 5-7 multicultural panelists, whose episodes have aired before. They function as representatives of immigrants. They are from various countries, such as China, Japan, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, and Uzbekistan. They always wear traditional clothes to show their culture, even though people in their own countries do not wear them anymore in their daily lives. Below is a picture of the multicultural panel.

What is interesting about the way in which this show frames culture is that it enormously depends on materiality, such as food and clothing. The program tries to reduce the abstract, intangible qualities of culture into simple, tangible, material sources and displays the different cultures through an equal amount of time and resources. This is

the way multiculturalism works in this program: reducing each culture to one-to-one labels, such as nationality, clothing, food, song, and so on.

Furthermore, culture here means traditional and authentic. The very basic format of *Love in Asia* is to show the everyday life of mixed-race children and/or multicultural families in Korea and enable them to visit their non-Korean parents/spouses' home country as a family. By doing so, the show aims to introduce their non-Korean parents/spouses' culture to Korean audiences and increase social awareness of multiculturalism. When they visit the home country, the footage mostly introduces traditional cultures of the homeland so that audiences in Korea get some sense of the protagonist's country and expect to extend the same degree of cultural acceptance. It intentionally emphasizes very authentic and exotic aspects of the culture to stress cultural difference and dramatize this difference. For instance, in Episode 300, when Min-ho and his mother visit Malaysia, Min-ho tries on Malaysian traditional clothing at the market. Moreover, when they visit his grandfather's tomb, the program uses this scene as an opportunity to show Indonesian and Islamic traditional customs/rituals in asking after one's ancestors. Episode 303 was aired at the time the Lunar New Year began and, in the episode, every panelist in the studio wore the traditional costumes of each country and introduced how they celebrate the new year. Also, in the episode, the family visits Myanmar and introduces how the Karen tribe, an ethnic minority in Myanmar to which Nanyoe – a female marriage migrant in Episode 303 - belongs, greets the new year. Nanyoe's family enjoys their traditional plays, dance, and food to celebrate the new year. In turn, Nanyoe provides a traditional Korean New Year dish, rice-cake soup.

All these examples make the non-Korean spouse/parents' home country very exotic, through depicting different cultural practices and products using a documentary technique. Hence, the way that the video depicts the foreign culture resembles a "travel

channel" or an "anthropological adventure" in the sense that it introduces a different culture with curiosity. Here, the economic gap between Korea and other countries in Asia provides an important framework for representing these countries. Since Korea is economically more advanced than other countries in Asia, particularly in Southeast Asia, the gaze of the documentary that captures cultural differences (and/or their exotic culture) in those Asian countries reveals the power imbalance. Put differently, Korea is represented as economically and technologically advanced, which locates Korea in a superior place than other Asian countries in the program. Hence, the gaze that looks at different cultures reveals the cultural superiority of Korea. It is somewhat similar to what Hwang (1999) calls "ethnographic voyeurism" in the sense that viewers get pleasure from feeling (spurious) superiority by watching savage and/or eccentric cultures. However, what is different in *Love in Asia* is that it also points out some cultural similarities while introducing different cultures. It compares them to Korean culture to smoothly suture the cultural differences between the two countries and provide a basis for assimilating the immigrants' culture.

In this context, it is interesting to point out that the primary viewers of the show are in their 30s through 60s. More importantly, according to the research on production the process of *Love in Asia* (Cha, 2013), sixty-somethings are the primary audience of the program, given that they make up almost 50% of the overall ratings. One of the major reasons that viewers in their 60s like to watch *Love in Asia* is because the show is reminiscent of the good-old-days of modern Korea. The sceneries in other Asian countries (economically less-developed countries in Asia) remind them of the '60s and '70s in Korea, when Korea was very poor yet experiencing a national passion for economic development (Cha, 2013, p. 51-53). In fact, what makes the visual images of other Asian countries in the show exotic comes from not only "different culture" but also

from “nostalgia” for the Korean past. For instance, when Min-Seo’s family (Episode 304) visits her father’s family in Pakistan, the trip takes a long time since his family lives in a rural area of Pakistan. By showing the lack of public transportation in the area, it indirectly shows that his hometown is undeveloped and rural. Moreover, the image of Pakistani people riding on donkeys (due to this lack of public transportation) in the market presents pre-modern images. In addition, in Episode 301, Hyun Jin’s family took a train, which was very old and small, to visit Ala National Park. The narrator explains that since the public transportation (highways, buses) in Sri Lanka has not been much developed, people use the train to get to nearby cities. When the train jerks back and forth a lot, the narrator says “the rattling sound reminds me of the trains in the ’50s and ’60s,” which makes the audience nostalgic for the Korean past. What becomes important in the process is that the program is “othering” Asian people by framing them as coming from economically less developed countries. The irony here is that, although the program aims to bring Asian people living in Korea nearer to Koreans, the way that they show/represent Asian people is alienating them through exoticizing their culture. Therefore, it sets up the dichotomy of “us” and “them.” Hence, I argue that Southeast Asia is constructed as an “Oriental place” in the eyes of Korean audiences, although Orientalism in general means a representational system about the Orient produced by the West (Said, 1979).

Orientalism is a discursive formation and a power-knowledge matrix about a certain race, and this racialized discourse and knowledge are the fundamental conditions for the racism that produces racist policies and actions (Hall, 1997c; Said, 1979, 1981). Thus, the mechanism by which the Korean media (and *Love in Asia* specifically) produces knowledge about Southeast Asia is similar to that of Orientalism. In other words, the program is othering the people from Southeast Asia by locating Korea and other Asian countries in a dichotomous relation: Korea as more

developed/modern/Western versus other Asian countries as less developed and pre-modern, thus, "Oriental."

Regarding the process of Orientalizing Asian people, it is important to look at the dynamics from the production side. Since the program aims to portray positive images of the multicultural family, the cast members are carefully selected by the production team (Cha, 2013). The production team of *Love in Asia* puts emphasis on the harmonious family so that the main protagonists are ones who can stress "love" among family members and who are obedient daughter-in-laws to highlight that they are well adjusted to Korean society. In terms of the casting process, one crucial factor is the cast's financial status. The cast are mostly female marriage migrants who came from poor countries and (desperately) need the financial support to visit their home country. In other words, since the format of the show is to send multicultural family to their non-Korean spouses' homeland, they sponsor plane tickets and (family) gifts. This explains why female marriage migrants in economically under-developed countries in Asia, such as Vietnam, Sri Lanka, and Malaysia, are much more frequently on the air: they appreciate this financial support from the program. In reality, however, Chinese female marriage migrants are the largest group, yet, they are relatively free from economic burden as China is much closer to visit.

According to Cha (2013), audiences of *Love in Asia*, particularly elderly people, like to watch these images of under-developed countries since it reminds them of modern day Korea and helps them appreciate how much Korea has developed since then. I would argue that it is "regressive (developmental) nationalism" in the sense that the program is nostalgic towards the developmental nationalism in the '70s and '80s in Korea that propelled the modernization project. This emotion of nostalgia for the good-old-days when everybody was poor yet has passion for national development revitalizes the

national desire for economic development today and rearticulates post-developmental nationalism. In other words, through showing economically under-developed countries in a way that arouses nostalgia for modern Korea, when developmental nationalism was a primary paradigm (Y. Cho, 2008; Pai, 2000), the program reminisces about the successful progress of the national development project (also known as "the miracle of the Han River") and reinforces the paternalistic view towards Asian migrants in Korea.

Moreover, since the family reunion of the cast members does not take place often (once every 5 or 6 years or even once a decade), this family union is often a tearful one, which also arouses emotional sentiments in Korean audiences about the love of family. By showing a touching family reunion and the happy moment of an extended family being reunited, it also reminds audiences of life in modern Korea, when extended families lived together. This nostalgic and paternalistic emotion that the show elicits from Korean audiences plays a significant role in shaping and propelling the statist multicultural project today. Considering that the multiculturalism in *Love in Asia* reinforces, in a way, the dichotomy of us and them and revitalizes (developmental) nationalism, we need to examine how the program presents/formulates what ideal Koreanness should be.

5.2.3 The Struggle for Koreanness: Multiculturalism in a Monoracial Way

Given that the program is basically working in the framework of paternalism and regressive (developmental) nationalism, the struggle for Korean national identity among multicultural families becomes crucial because it illuminates how nationalism works to articulate racial relations/politics in Korean society. Together with what I have explained above, I insist that the multiculturalism (that is framed in *Love in Asia*) connotes a mutation of (ethnic) nationalism defining Asians as an internal other. Thus, the struggle for Koreanness that is taking place among multicultural families in the show and in

society in general is a multiculturalism constructed in a monoracial way. Put differently, Koreanness has never been significantly challenged, and multiculturalism is another way to reinforce ethnic nationalism (see Bhabha, 1994, 1998; Gilroy, 1987, 1993; Hall, 1995, 1996; Hall, 1997b). As Paul Gilroy (1987) rightly argues in his famous book, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*, British racism towards black subjects is deeply rooted in the discourse of imaginary English national identity, which is supposedly homogenous through its articulation with whiteness; therefore, it has no room for blackness. Likewise, although the multicultural discussion seems inclusive towards racial others in Korean society, the idea of "one race, one nation" has not been challenged in the Korean televisual landscape.

Using the human documentary format, the show deploys a formal narrative strategy to maximize the drama. Although it has aired for over 7 years, the narrative structure in each episode has remained the same, which results in the simplification and/or suturing of the struggle for Koreanness within the show. In other words, the stories are selectively chosen by the producer to dramatize the familial love and happy life of multicultural families in Korea (K. S. Lee, 2006). Likewise, utilizing this narrative strategy – crisis and saturation as a way to increase human drama - I argue that the program patterns what it means to be a Korean. In the first half of the program, where the pre-taped documentary depicts the everyday life of a multicultural family, the documentary introduces hardships and concerns that the multicultural family has experienced (e.g. educating their children, financial difficulties, language problems, and family issues due to international marriage). However, the narrative strategy of the show is focusing on how these difficulties are resolved and how they now live out a happy life in Korea. For instance, in Episode 301, Hyun-Jin was suffering from lack of confidence due to her peers making fun of her different (dark) skin color and her foreign mother.

However, at the end of the show, after she visited her mother's homeland with her family, she began to understand more about herself as a mixed-race child, and her concern about her identity is quickly resolved. Along the same lines, Eun-Ah (in Episode 302) is suffering because her mother (from Ecuador) does not speak any Korean so that, as the oldest child, she needs to take care of her family and brothers/sisters. After visiting her mother's homeland, she began to have a deeper understanding of her mother.

More specifically, since the show aims to portray only the positive aspects of the multicultural family, the female marriage migrants are represented as "kind daughter-in-laws and wives" who are willingly assimilated as Koreans. It also casts multiracial children as the "hope of a multicultural future" of Korea (H. J. Lee, 2011; K. S. Lee, 2006). They endlessly perform their Koreanness by showing how much they like Korea and are well assimilated in Korean society. For instance, the program repeatedly shows female marriage migrants practicing Korean culture, such as being a good house-wife and daughter-in-law, preparing Korean dishes for the family, learning Korean and so on. In addition, through the series on the multiracial children of the multicultural family, the show keeps informing viewers that they are not 'Kosian' but are also "Korean" by showing their fluent Korean and introducing their dreams/visions about Korea. In other words, the politics of recognition takes place by claiming that they don't need any other terms for describing themselves but are also Koreans.

Given that the program tries to provide "good" model cases, I contend that the notion of "one Koreanness" has never been challenged in the show despite the struggle for their racial/ethnic identities. The reality-documentary format takes the form of confirming multicultural families' Koreanness. For instance, the production team interviews friends and school teachers of the multicultural children in order to confirm that they are getting along well with their friends and have no problems in their school

lives. In addition, the interview with the parents-in-law says that they feel their (foreign) daughter-in-law is more Korean than other Koreans because she does what is expected as a "caretaker" (Espinoza, 2002; Hochschild, 2003).

Although the program (positively) stereotypes the image of multicultural families by showing that they are well adjusted to the Korean society, it does have some critical moments that show cracks in this (stereo)typical representation of multicultural families and multiracial children. Hyun Jin's case raises some interesting points about being a mixed-race 'Kosian.' She lived in Sri Lanka for about 6 years when she was young. While her younger sister Yoon-Ju has adjusted to Korean society much better than Hyun-Jin, Hyun-Jin has had difficulties adjusting school life since friends teased her for her dark skin color and her foreign mother. In an interview with the production team during her visit to her mother's family in Sri Lanka, she says,

> *"When I was in Korea, people said that I'm a Sri Lankan or a foreigner. However, here in Sri Lanka, I was so sure that people would think that I'm a Sri Lankan, but many people think that I'm a foreigner (Korean) as well."*

This moment reveals her double-identity as a mixed-race, which indicates that she feels like she does not belong to either society (Ang, 2001; Bhabha, 1998). Although the show did not pay attention to this moment, I would call attention to the fact that Hyun-Jin was teased by her friends for having a dark skin color and an "African" mother[29], because it demonstrates that skin color is another important marker of Koreanness (H.-E. Lee, 2009). Unlike blood, the difference of skin color makes visible the otherwise invisible line between Korean and non-Korean, because it is believed that Koreans share the same skin color due to racial homogeneity. Hence, whether it's darker or lighter, different (skin) color has been seen as a marker of "foreignness" and "outsider" status. For Hyun-

[29] Hyun Jin's mother is from Sri Lanka. However, her friends quickly assume that her mother came from Africa, since Hyun Jin has dark skin.

Jin's friends (and general Koreans), her dark skin color becomes the primary marker of indicating Koreanness; therefore, Hyun-Jin is not quite Korean, even though she shares the same Korean blood tie, speaks Korean, and lives in Korea.

However, Hyun-Jin's concern about her being mixed-race is quickly resolved or wrapped up by the program for the purpose of suturing the crack and describing her concern as a temporary one. At the end of the episode, she says:

> *"I always wanted to live in Sri Lanka. However, after visiting Sri Lanka this time, I realized that whether I live in Sri Lanka or in Korea is not important. What's important is that I want to be a person who helps Sri Lanka in Korea while helping Korea in Sri Lanka. Whether I live in Sri Lanka or in Korea does not change my country* because my nationality is Korean*."*(emphasis added)

By claiming that she is Korean based on her nationality and that she wants to be a translator who can help both countries, the episode ends smoothly, and Hyun-Jin receives an ovation from the in-studio audience. The series ends each episode the same way – by sharing a child's heartwarming dream – and reinforces the idea that those multiracial children are just like other Koreans who want to be good Korean citizens.

In another episode, the show introduces the story of Min-Seo, who wants to be a celebrity in the future. Given that there has been no Asian mixed-race celebrity so far in Korean popular culture, it is meaningful that the program picked her up for one of the episodes in their multicultural children series. Throughout the episode, it introduces her rosy dream and how she is preparing to be a celebrity in the future. At the end of the episode, however, the words of Iresha, one of the multicultural panelists, open up a critical moment. Iresha says:

> *"If my children want to be a celebrity, I don't want to hinder them. Obama became president in a way that nobody really dreamed of. Just like Obama, I think our children can be a famous celebrity in Korea. However, my concern is that our children get the opportunity to take a role only under the frame of*

multicultural families or children of multicultural families. I worry that our children can continue their dream if that's the case."

She is correct in that mixed-race children will be consumed by the media as markers of the multicultural Korea; therefore, their role would remain within the bounds of the multicultural family. This is important because unlike mixed-race celebrities who are coming from "outside" of Korea, such as Hines Ward and Daniel Henney, these "internal" mixed-race celebrities, especially in the case of the Asian mixed-race population, walk a different path because they symbolize different racial relations. However, this moment as well is quickly sutured by the announcers' call for cheers and applause for Min-Seo's dream coming true. Likewise, through addressing that those mixed-race children are dreaming of their own lives as good Korean citizens, the show successfully locates mixed-race children and their multicultural family as stereotypical good citizens, which connotes that, on the flip side, they are potential threats to Korean society if they are not assimilated "enough."

In the same vein, one important points regarding framing the dream of multicultural children is that they want to be someone who can be beneficial to Korea. For instance, Min-ho wants to be an engineer of heavy equipment and is thinking about expanding the business to the Southeast Asian market. By bridging Korea and Southeast Asia, he says that he want to contribute to Korea. Along the same lines, both Hyun-Jin and Eun-Ah, who want to be translators, also wish that they could contribute to Korea. It is interesting in a sense that they articulate their future dream within the framework of national interests. Considering that this is one of the ways that they express their Koreanness and their loyalty to the Korean nation, it is important to address that Koreanness to racial others is redefined in the work of economic interests: if one is beneficial to national interests, one has a better chance of being claimed as Korean. The

case is also applicable to Hines Ward and Daniel Henney in that using their great success to bolster national pride makes them (and their doubtful Koreanness in terms of race/ethnicity) just enough to be claimed as Koreans. Hence, Koreans who are racially/ethnically different will always be questioned about their Koreanness depending on whether they are faithful, sincere bearers of Korean traditions and whether they are contributors to the Korean nation. It is in this sense that multiculturalism is working in the logic of monoracial ethnic nationalism (Ang, 2001; Ang & Stratton, 1996; K.-M. Choi, 2009; Hall, 2000). In other words, multiculturalism as a national project is proclaiming how diverse Korea is now without fundamentally questioning the hegemony of one Koreanness – the idea that ethnicity should be coincident with nationality.

5.3 MEDIATING RACE IN THE REALITY-SURVIVAL-AUDITION PROGRAM: *THE GREAT BIRTH* AND NEOLIBERAL ETHICS

Love in Asia is a representative multicultural reality show that casts female marriage migrants and their multicultural families on a public television network and portrays the daily lives of multicultural families through the form of the human documentary genre. However, it should also be noted that the reality program has continuously evolved over time, becoming more entertaining, commercialized, and personalized (Corner, 2002; Kilborn, 1994; Nichols, 1994). In comparison to *Love in Asia*, which raises multicultural issues as a televised national project, this section examines how a reality-audition program on a commercial channel draws a different map of cultural/racial politics in contemporary Korean television. It also explicates the different logic of showcasing racial others compared to the reality-documentary genre. Using the first season of reality-audition program *The Great Birth* as an exemplary case, I particularly read the "reality-audition program craze" starting from the 2000s in Korean

television as a neoliberal project and examine how the neoliberal reality-audition program articulates race.

Together with the Korean Dream projected to 'Kosians' through the public television show *Love in Asia*, I argue that the Korean Dream that *The Great Birth* visualizes for other (Asian) immigrants and/or ethnic-Koreans encapsulates the struggle for Koreanness in the era of globalization. This commercial version of the reality program would have a different logic of presenting the multicultural reality of Korea compared to a public network show like *Love in Asia*. Hence, this section explores how the commercial reality-audition program mediates the racialization process, using *The Great Birth* as an anchoring text.

5.3.1 Globalizing Multicultural Reality and *The Great Birth*, Season 1

The Great Birth started its first season in 2010, when reality-survival-audition programs particularly flourished in Korean television. (All three terrestrial reality-survival-audition programs launched either in 2010 or in 2011 as shown in Table 6 above.) Among several reality-audition programs, the first season of *The Great Birth* is worthwhile to analyze because it is the only season among several survival-audition programs in Korean television so far that produced a non-Korean winner. Since the final winner of the first season of *The Great Birth* was a Korean-Chinese from China, it has created a public discursive space for discussing the Korean Dream projected to racial others, particularly to Asian immigrants. It is particularly interesting because it demonstrates how a non-multicultural reality program, where commercial interests rather than multiculturalism are the major driving force of the show, nonetheless mediates racial politics. In this sense, by virtue of the winner happening to be a non-Korean, the show becomes an interesting case study of how race/ethnicity stands out in the commercial

entertainment genre, where race was not supposed to be a prominent element within the show.

The Great Birth started its first season on November 5, 2010. The first season ran about 8 months and consisted of 27 episodes. The audition was held on a global basis, regardless of nationality, citizenship, and country of residence. The only restriction is that the participants can make an audition with a Korean song. The show had its preliminary auditions in Korea, Japan, China, America, and Southeast Asia. From the first preliminary round, the program selected 300 teams and in the second round, it selected 120 teams (100 teams from Korea and 20 teams from abroad and Youtube).[30] After conducting an overnight camp of two nights and three days, the contestants went through various challenges, and a total of 20 teams were selected for the pre-live-broadcasting round. Those 20 teams were divided into 5 groups, each led by a mentor who is a professional singer, producer, or composer. After spending two weeks training under the mentor-mentee system, the top 12 teams were selected for the live broadcast. Together with the format of the survival audition program, what becomes important in terms of the show is each participant's personal life history that can dramatize his/her "great birth" through the audition.

Among the top 12 teams, 5 participants came from abroad. Considering the high competition rate, participants coming from abroad made up a significant portion of contestants, which indicates that their different level of "foreignness" appeals to Korean audiences. Below is the list of participants and their ethnic background among the top 12 who come from abroad.

[30] 20 teams from abroad: Japan 2, America 8, Thailand 3, China 4, Canada 2, France 1

Participant	Rank	Nationality	Race/ethnicity	Residence
Baek Chung-Kang	Top 1	China	4th generation Korean-Chinese	China
Shayne Orok	Top 3	Canada	Vietnamese-Canadian, (White mixed-race)	Canada
David Oh	Top 5	America	Korean-American	America
Baek Se-Eun	Top 10	Korea	Korean	Japan
Kwon Lee-Se	Top 12	Korea	4th generation Korean-Japanese	Japan

Table 8: The name of participants who come from abroad among the top 12

The program effectively utilizes those participants who come from abroad to (in)directly show how much K-pop and the Korean Wave as a national program are expanding their boundaries/popularity on a global scale. In other words, the sharp increase in reality-audition programs for the K-pop genre – *Super Star K, The Great Birth, Voice of Korea, K-Pop Star,* and *Top Band* – in a sense makes a spectacle of K-pop's global popularity to Korean national audiences. Moreover, the programs invite audiences to participate through a nationwide fee-charging text-message vote (ten cents per message). *The Great Birth* carried out the text-message vote during the live stage competitions. On the day of the first live stage competition, the total number of text messages that the program received was over 1.7 million ($170 million), which hit the highest record among audition programs. Given that the rating was about 20% (nationwide), it can be said that it was a national televised event that was driven by the combination of commercial television, participants, and audiences.

In this formulation of the show, Baek Chung-Kang's first-season win is worth analyzing in detail as it indicates how the neoliberal battle takes place in the realm of the reality-survival-audition program, which brings race and Koreanness to the center of the discussion. Baek received the spotlight from the preliminary round held in China and was

immediately called a “gemstone found in China,” since he sang very well. As a 21-year-old boy who loves K-pop and dreams of being a singer in Korea, being a fourth-generation Korean-Chinese who lives in China did not hinder him from moving up the ranks. In fact, the show embraced his ethnicity as a non-Korean citizen as a marker of (cultural) diversity and fairness within the show.

However, at this moment, I believe his being Korean-Chinese needs to be studied within the historical context and social changes in Korea, because it provides critical points about how race, ethnicity, and Koreanness are complexly articulated. As discussed in Chapter 1, Korean-Chinese are Koreans who moved to China even before the birth of the modern Korean state in 1948 to escape Japanese colonialism. Therefore, they share the Korean blood tie, but have long been seen as non-Korean duo to their different nationality (they are Chinese by citizenship) (H. O. Park, 2011). Their situation demonstrates that although blood is crucial in constructing Koreanness, as exemplified by Amerasians and ‘Kosians,’ it is not always the primary articulator defining who a Korean is.

In the early stage of importing foreign labor in the late 1990s, Korean-Chinese and North Korean defectors were particularly welcomed because of the significant commonalities that they share with Koreans, such as language and physical appearance (K. Moon, 2000, p. 157). Due to those commonalties, they have acquired superior status to other non-Korean workers, such as South Asian migrant workers. The Korean government believed that, in this way, their presence would offer the least damage to Korean racial/ethnic homogeneity. At the same time, however, Korean-Chinese and North Koreans have never been considered the same as Korean, and have therefore been othered, due to their different ethnicity. In other words, while the Korean government appreciates the cheap labor of Korean-Chinese in the process of neoliberal economic

restructuring, their Koreanness is denied due to their different ethnic background. Hence, Korean-Chinese, although they are not mixed-race (or mixed-blood in the Korean context), technically share a similar type of in-between and hybrid identity since their nationality and ethnicity are inconsistent (H. O. Park, 2011). Given that Korean-Chinese are one of the crucial multicultural subjects who embody this in-between identity, I argue that Baek Chung-Kang has emerged as another "Korean Obama" figure – i.e., a symbol for propagating the Korean Dream among ordinary multicultural subjects. In the following section, I explicate the genre logic by which he has been elevated to the status of a "Korean Obama."

5.3.2 The Rules of the Reality-Survival-Audition Program: The Tripod of Production, Ordinary Participants, and Audiences

After Chung-Kang won first place, the press wrote that he finally made his dream come true and fulfilled the Korean Dream (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: News articles that talk about Baek Chung-Kang's win in the framework of the Korean Dream

However, the fact that he won first place does not by itself constitute the discourse of the Korean Dream. What matters is the mode of articulation (or certain discursive/structural forces) that makes him an iconic figure to project the dream of a "fair Korea" and Korea as an imaginary place where people can achieve their own success if they work hard regardless of racial/ethnic background. In this context, the innate generic logic of the reality-audition program – the way that the program

narrates/structures the show – is crucial in constructing the Korean Dream. Thus, what I am arguing is that the Korean Dream is constructed through the articulation of the logic of the reality-audition program and market-oriented nature of the show, as well as the neoliberal turn.

Most of all, I would argue that it is important to understand the format of the reality-survival-audition program as a tripod relation among commercial television channel, audition participants, and audience. As Kim-Go (2011) rightly puts, the huge success of the reality-audition program is rooted in a win-win strategy: everybody who participates in the show – the television network, audience, and audition participants – are meeting their needs throughout the show by actively engaging with the show. From the producers' perspective, they can reduce the production cost since they don't have to pay a large amount of money to the participants, who are ordinary people, not celebrities. The audience also feels empowered through actively participating the show, as their vote (through online and text message) is one of the crucial determining factors throughout the audition process. At the same time, the participants feel that they are making an effort to make their dream come true, and that their efforts will be rewarded through a fair competition (Kim-Go, 2011).

In the case of Baek Chung-Kang more specifically, the articulation of those three factors maximizes the show's dramatic and entertaining moments. Given that the reality program today has evolved from a (human) documentary type of reality program, it can be argued that the reality-audition program today optimizes dramatic interest by putting special emphasis on personal life story combined with unscripted competition. In particular, if the participants have an especially dramatic personal life story, such as having a disability, experiencing some hardships like family poverty, or overcoming obstacles to get closer to their dream, they would have a better chance of being

spotlighted. Their competitive spirit, motivated by a love of music, is easily highlighted to attract audiences. This is why many winners of the reality-audition programs are people who have overcome their underprivileged conditions. For instance, Han Dong-Geun, the winner of *The Great Birth*, Season 3, suffers from epilepsy. Heo Gak, the winner of *Super Star K*, Season 2, was not able to finish high school due to economic hardships. The story that Heo Gak was working as a ventilator repairman to earn money while pursuing his singing career at a night club is well-known among audiences. Acknowledging that the name of Paul Potts, the winner of *Britain's Got Talent*, 2007, has become synonymous with ordinary people's dream coming true, the participants in survival-audition programs are expecting themselves to be "Korea's Paul Potts." Likewise, collapsing the binary between celebrities and ordinary people is one of the most appealing elements in reality audition programs (Escoffery, 2006).

The narrative structure of the survival audition program – the premise that anybody can apply for an audition and ordinary people (just like us) can become a celebrity (hero) – is one of the most attractive elements in terms of audiences' viewing pleasure (S.-M. Choi & Kang, 2012). Audiences get vicarious pleasure by watching participants' touching and thrilling human drama that he/she finally accomplishes his/her dream through the show. In this context, Chung-Kang's personal life story is well woven into the show's narrative of a "great birth." As a Korean-Chinese living in the Korean district in China, his personal life story exactly follows the "hero narrative" in the sense that he overcomes difficulties with the help of a mentor and finally becomes a winner (S.-M. Choi & Kang, 2012). For instance, from the interview that he had with *The Great Birth*, he said that he had to live by himself at the age of 9, since his parents had to go abroad (Russia and Korea) to earn money. Hence, he had to spend most of the time alone. Because he was so poor, he said he ate ramen all the time to save money. Despite these

difficult circumstances, he did not give up his dream to be a singer in Korea. Instead, he grabbed the opportunity to audition for *The Great Birth* in Chungdo, China, and he finally won first place. His dramatic success story was well characterized and highlighted within the survival-audition program format and circulated at a national level via the press and online portals.

What distinguishes *The Great Birth* from other reality-audition programs is that, in addition to meeting audiences' vicarious satisfaction by dramatizing the miraculous life-changing story of the winners, it also satisfies the fantasy of the Korean Dream for many Asian immigrants, particularly Korean-Chinese, whose number is fast growing in Korean society (H. O. Park, 2011). It is an interesting moment in that it shows how the neoliberal reality-audition program mediates the racialization process. Just like the Hines Ward moment, the Korean Dream signified by Baek Chung-Kang's win interpellates mixed-race people and racial minorities and sends messages like "Your Korean Dream is possible regardless of your race/ethnicity, if you do your best." However, what becomes important in Baek's case in comparison to Hines Ward is that Baek is an ordinary person who has emerged as a "Korean Obama" (or "Korean Potts"). This makes people feel that the Korean Dream is even more attainable, given that audiences have witnessed how he made his dream come true throughout the program.

Aside from the format of the show itself, audiences' passion for supporting him played an important role in his win. In an interview, Chung-Kang's father said, "I was expecting rather negative responses about him [Baek Chung-Kang] being a Korean-Chinese from the Korean audiences because of his different ethnic background" (Hur, 2011). However, despite this concern, Korean audiences' support for him was unexpectedly huge. For instance, two of his most popular online fan clubs have over twenty-thousand members. As the live stage contest unfolded, his fan club members

came to see him and cheer him on, which visualized his fame/popularity on screen. Moreover, given that the total evaluation of the top 12's live stage performance consisted of 30% of the 5 mentors' scores and 70% of audiences' fee-charging cellphone text message votes, the overall rank of the live stage performance may be affected depending on audiences' votes. According to the newspaper article (Hur, 2011), on Friday while watching the program, audiences sent text messages to their acquaintances to encourage them to vote for Baek Chung-Kang, which indicates how passionate Korean audiences were about this media event – in both making and wishing him to be the winner.

In this sense, his Korean-Chinese identity gets articulated in the show as a way to dramatize human victory. That he was a young boy (he is now 24-years-old) who passionately wanted to be a singer in Korea, overcoming underprivileged conditions, such as family poverty and his minority ethnic background, perfectly fit with the hero narrative common in reality-survival-audition programs. In this context of the reality-audition program structure, his (different) ethnicity did not bother Korean audiences at all because this "difficulty or difference" was rather seen as a minor element that glamorized his victory. In other words, his different ethnic background provided a reason to support him because it was subsumed by his economic difficulties and suffering, which, in turn, highlight how hard he has been trying to become a singer. Thus, while the public-television show *Love in Asia* dramatizes the multicultural battle for 'Kosians' and multicultural families to be assimilated in the Korean society, the neoliberal reality-audition program *The Great Birth* provides an illusionary space for those racial minorities tto achieve the Korean Dream. It perpetuates the myth that Korean society is an open and fair society where everybody who makes an effort can succeed (just like Baek Chung-Kang in the show). Through these two different logics working together in Korean

television, the multicultural reality makes more sense to racial minorities as well as general audiences in Korea.

5.3.3 The Korean Dream Projected to Multicultural Subjects

That Baek Chung-Kang won first place in a Korean audition program not only inspires Korean-Chinese and/or other immigrants in Korea to pursue their own Korean Dream, but it also stimulates the Korean-Chinese communities living in China. It is interesting that the news about Baek Chung-Kang's courageous challenge and success in Korea had been reported as feature news in the Korean-Chinese media in China. Every time Baek Chung-Kang continued to a higher level of the competition, the Korean-Chinese society celebrated Baek's passing another round. When Baek first visited his hometown right after he won first place, many members of the Korean-Chinese community came out to meet him in person at the airport and ardently welcomed him for him being such a success in Korea. This scene resembles the welcome that Hines Ward received on his first visit to Korea. In other words, the ardent welcome from Korean-Chinese is a projection of the hope that the Korean Dream is *actually* possible for them. Moreover, for Korean-Chinese in Korea, watching Baek's performance together and cheering him on together every Friday night (the day *The Great Birth* aired) was a ritual/festival for them (Hur, 2011). Put differently, Baek's first-place win in one of the most popular audition programs in Korean television has become a symbolic event for both communities in China as well as in Korea.

Although various factors shaped his fandom, his passion for K-pop and his awe of Korean culture certainly bolstered his fandom in Korea. For instance, he said in an interview with *The Great Birth* that when he first watched H.O.T's performance of "We Are the Future" – the "father" of idol singer groups in Korea who initiated the first stage

of the Korean Wave in China in the late 1990s – on Chinese television in his middle-school days, he was shocked by their powerful performance and, since then, he has wanted to become like them. What I would like to call attention to is how Korea is consumed and represented through the eyes of this Korean-Chinese boy in Korean media. I argue that Baek's comment that he was inspired by K-pop, which (in)directly indicates the huge success of the Korean Wave in East Asia, is appropriated by the Korean media as a way to increase the national pride of Korean audiences through his testimony. Given that the Korean Wave is a national project combining the desires of the Korean state, market, and audience, the fact that this Korean-Chinese boy who has always been dreaming of being a singer in Korea and admiring H.O.T as his role models attracted Korean audiences. It brings the idea of regressive (developmental) nationalism that I analyzed in *Love in Asia* back into our discussion. Given that *The Great Birth* also utilizes cultural superiority and locates Korea at the center of an imaginary global cultural map in Asia, the way that the reality television imagines the single nation-state remains the same despite the different characteristics of each show. Put differently, while the programs welcome racial diversity on the surface, they try to find something "Korean" about those racial others and, by reevaluating their Koreanness, they reinforce the idea of ethnic nationalism.

In addition, the mission for selecting the top 8 was to sing one of the 100 international pop songs that Koreans like the most. This mission was particularly challenging for Baek Chung-Kang, as he had never sung (English) pop songs on stage before in his life. Unlike other participants, who were familiar with pop songs (e.g., David Oh from America, Shayne from Canada, and other Koreans who learned English at school), he was not familiar with Western pop songs and his English pronunciation was not good. For this reason, the mentors' evaluation was a bit lower than his previous

performance (he was ranked fifth out of ten in this round), but he survived and was able to move to the next round. While he was not so good at English and singing Western pop songs, that he was much better at Korean pop songs – particularly old songs from the ’70s through the ’90s – was viewed as positive and more appealing to Korean audiences. I would interpret their reaction as follows: That he did better singing Korean songs than Western pop songs highlights his Koreanness in that it proves he is a more sincere follower of Korean popular culture than American/Western pop music. Put differently, although (Western) pop has a much larger market and audience group, the idea that K-pop in some other region in the world is more appreciated than Western pop stimulates Koreans’ pride about K-pop and Korean popular culture.

While Baek Chung-Kang’s Koreanness was appreciated in some instances by the Korean audiences and media, it is also important to note that his ambivalent ethnic identity as a Korean-Chinese was ceaselessly brought up and questioned in other instances. The fact that he is Chinese in terms of nationality, but Korean by blood tie addresses an interesting point about the struggle for Koreanness. As a fourth-generation Korean-Chinese living in China whose family moved there over a half century ago, his identity as a Korean-Chinese was seen as suspicious, even though he shares same language and same (blood) lineage, which constitutes typical Koreanness. The biggest concern about his identity is rooted in the general public’s stereotypes toward Korean-Chinese and Asian migrants: They come to Korea to earn money and send Korean money/currency back to their homeland, which can be seen as a threat to the Korean economy and “our” jobs (H. O. Park, 2011).

This suspicion is well expressed in the discussion on whether he is a Korean or a Chinese. On YTN’s interview program *Issues and People*, to which Baek Chung-Kang

and other top 3 performers were invited as guests, the anchor asked sensitive questions like the ones below:

> **Anchor: If you'd like to marry, who would you prefer? A Chinese woman or a Korean woman?**
>
> *Baek Chung-Kang: I will marry whoever I love.*
>
> **Anchor: Do you plan to apply for Korean nationality to be a singer in Korea?**
>
> *BCK: I don't have a specific plan about it yet, but I will think about it as time goes on.*
>
> **Anchor: Do you think you're a Korean or a Chinese?**
>
> *BCK: … (no answer)*

Those questions keep trying to verify whether he identifies himself as a Korean or a Chinese. The desire beneath the questions is to determine whether he is an "insider" or an "outsider." The idea that he has to choose between the two identities reveals that monoracial Koreanness is still a powerful concept in that it implies nationality and ethnicity should be coincident. Hence, forcing him to be either one or the other is an act of symbolic violence against him, since he is actually *both* at the same time. Not only in the case of *Issues and People*, but in other situations, he seems to avoid a clear answer about whether he identifies himself as Korean or Chinese because if he chooses one of the two, he will upset either the Korean-Chinese community or Korean audiences. Instead, he indirectly emphasizes his Korean ethnicity by noting that Korean-Chinese are originally from Korea.

However, since he remains an ambivalent subject rather than denying some part of himself, his loyalty to Korea has always been questioned. Right before the final round, he was caught up in controversy about his critical speech against Korea. One anonymous person uploaded a posting to an online portal, accusing Baek Chung-Kang for belittling

Korea on his personal web page in 2009. The short passage (which Baek Chung-Kang allegedly wrote) asks, "What's good about Korea? They ignore us [Korean-Chinese]. When I become a singer in Korea, I will trample them down." Baek Chung-Kang immediately responded that he was not the individual who wrote the passage. Given that it was right before the final round and that it was not clear whether it was truly him who wrote these words, the event turned out to be a hoax. Even though it was a hoax, the first reaction to this controversy was hostile to Baek Chung-Kang, and he had to suffer malicious comments/replies from Koreans for this occurrence. Some Koreans expressed their hatred toward Korean-Chinese through this event, and it created a public forum for expressing Koreans' negative feelings about the increasing number of Asian immigrants and governmental multicultural policies.

I think this case is a cultural site where racial antagonism between Koreans and internal racial others, including Korean-Chinese and Asian immigrants, has been revealed. In other words, the (national) anxiety over the increasing number of Korean-Chinese and Asian immigrants exploded through the event. This moment exactly shows the impossibility of the Korean Dream. It reveals that, on the one hand, it is always possible that those immigrants can easily betray Korea in Koreans' eyes and, on the other hand, immigrants realize that they will remain second-class citizens in reality despite the fantasy that the show brings. Hence, racial antagonism towards both 'Kosians'/female marriage migrants, as discussed in the case of *Love in Asia*, and Korean-Chinese in *The Great Birth* reveal that different shades of Koreanness – whether it is blood tie, nationality, ethnicity, or skin color – will never be enough to be a "full Korean," because those differences are working as a logic to differentiate the people who are "not-quite Koreans."

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined racial politics and the struggle for Koreanness in the realm of reality television in Korea. Specifically, I argue that the rise of racial representations on reality television is a national project to globalize Korean reality – the reality of a multicultural, global Korea. Although the statist notion of multiculturalism drives the show *Love in Asia*, "Korean Obama" figures emerge not purely through the state pushing for multiculturalism in a propagandistic way, but through a hybrid reality-documentary approach. Hence, constraints from the production side as well as audiences' reception are crucial in shaping the logic of the program. In other words, those female marriage migrants and their multicultural families are carefully selected to dramatize their life stories as "well-adapted, nice Koreans," which reinforces Koreanness in a monoracial way. Since the show aims to present social integration of multicultural subjects, overly risky or sensitive subjects do not appear on the show, which results in the stereotyping and confining of those multicultural subjects as sincere followers of Korean culture. In this way, the show presents multicultural reality, yet, "one Koreanness" – the notion that Korea is monoracial in terms of its national identity – has not been significantly challenged. In other words, racial diversity is accepted/welcomed as long as it sustains one Koreanness.

Along the same lines, yet operating under a different logic, *The Great Birth* also reinforces ethnic nationalism. Although *The Great Birth* is not a multicultural show in terms of its aim and purpose, this reality-survival-audition program, as one of the most popular reality television shows now in Korea, welcomes racial/cultural diversity in order to make the show global. In this process, Baek Chung-Kang emerged and was elevated as the winner of the first season, which ignited a discussion of the Korean Dream, particularly as projected towards multicultural subjects. The show utilizes commercial,

neoliberal logics, such as fair competition, entertaining personalized stories (e.g., the hero narrative), and audience ratings, as primary driving forces of the show. I argue that the program provides a discursive space for the Korean Dream, which overshadows racial antagonism in the work of the neoliberal restructuring of Korean society. Reading the globalization of Korea's multicultural reality through two different types of shows, this chapter has argued that ethnic nationalism under the battle of multiculturalism and neoliberalism rearticulates/revitalizes its mode to continue working as a nation-building project.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

Overall, this dissertation has examined the struggle for Koreanness in contemporary Korean television using the mixed-race category as an analytic framework. I have argued that the rise of multiculturalism discourse and multicultural representations of racial others in Korean television is a national project to imagine Korea as a multicultural, global Korea under the current neoliberal social transformation. In other words, there has been a discursive shift in imagining Korea from a modern monoracial Korea to a multicultural, global Korea, not only to carve out the nation's own place but also to aggressively upgrade its national status on the global cultural/economic map. This shift is due to both domestic as well as international forces that require the reformation of Korean national identity. On a domestic level, the number of foreigners and new types of Koreans (such as 'Kosians' and naturalized Korean citizens) have dramatically increased over the past decade, which has necessitated a redefinition of what constitutes Koreanness in this global era. At the same time, internationally, in 2007 the United Nations advised the Korean government to refrain from using the term "pure-blood" due to its racist connotation. As one newspaper reports:

> The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), a UN-affiliated organization said in a report that "the emphasis placed on the ethnic homogeneity of Korea may represent an obstacle to the promotion of understanding, tolerance and friendship among the different ethnic and national groups living on its territory." It also asked the government to promote banning the usage of the terms "pure blood" and "mixed-blood" (Bae, 2007).

Under these circumstances, the ideological construction of Korea as a racially homogenous nation has been significantly challenged by both domestic and international calls for reshaping Korea's national identity, and the Korean government has had to reformulate its national identity due to these calls. In this context, the Korean government

has embraced multiculturalism as a way to solve the problem and renew the national identity in accordance with social transformations. Given that multiculturalism is a statist discourse to reconfigure the national identity under the pressure to be a more open, diverse, and global society, it is not surprising that this new national project becomes the site of a "battlefield" that reshapes the logic of ethnic nationalism. In other words, Korean multiculturalism is a nation-building project that deals with two conflicting aims: on the one hand (domestically), to unite the nation against the growing number of foreign groups; on the other (internationally), to be recognized as an open, multicultural, and global society.

To theorize the struggle for Koreanness initiated by the discursive explosion of multiculturalism in the neoliberal Korea, I came up with the term "neoliberal multiculturalism," which illustrates a particular mode of racial formation in contemporary Korean popular culture and the televisual landscape. Complicating the formation of neoliberal multiculturalism through the race-nation-media articulation, I examined how those two poles – multiculturalism and neoliberalism – compete and collude with each other in different cases and "moments" throughout the dissertation: the Hines Ward moment in Chapter 3, the Daniel Henney moment in Chapter 4, and the (fictional) "Korean Obama" moment in Chapter 5. Denying a simplistic understanding of the relation between market and state as two separate entities, I advanced my argument by pointing out different conjunctures that the tension between state and market brings to the formulation of neoliberal multiculturalism. In other words, neoliberal multiculturalism as a racial formation and national project is neither state-driven nor market-determined only. Instead, it is both a statist reworking of neoliberalism (market forces) and a market reworking of multiculturalism (statist agenda).

To foreground this discussion in a nuanced way, in Chapter 2, I mapped out the discursive shift in imagining the Korean nation from a modern monoracial state (1960s-1980s) to a contemporary multicultural and global Korea (1990s-present) from the perspective of race-nation-media. Using the mixed-race category as an analytic framework to navigate this shift, I situated the shift in a historical, cultural, political, and (media) industrial context. Most importantly, I employed the categories of Amerasian and 'Kosian,' two central mixed-race categories in Korea, as a lens to look at the shift and to compare different racialization processes in the past and present. The term Amerasian symbolizes state racism by (almost completely) excluding racial others from the national imagery to maintain racial purity under the alliance between militant authoritarian regimes and strong statist media complex in the modern monoracial period. In contrast, 'Kosian' emerged in the process of neoliberal restructuring of the labor system to attract cheap labor from near Asia and has been embraced by the governmental policy on multiculturalism today, which has brought racial issues to the fore of contemporary Korean society.

The category of Amerasian and its significance can be understood through the emergence of two major celebrities – Hines Ward (Chapter 3) and Daniel Henney (Chapter 4) – in Korean television. Although they share similarities since both are Amerasian mixed-race celebrities, they present different modes of neoliberal multiculturalism. Whereas popular media discourse around Hines Ward primarily articulates a statist multiculturalism agenda to heal Korea's racist past and move toward a multicultural society, Daniel Henney's cosmopolitan whiteness is commercialized in the work of utilizing his racialized body as a vehicle to express global Koreanness. In other words, while the struggle for multicultural recognition of racial others becomes the leading articulator that drives the Hines Ward moment, the neoliberal commodification of

race becomes the leading force in the case of Daniel Henney. It explains why, although Ward's black body was glamorized and commercialized in the eyes of Korean media/television to a certain degree, his blackness was not able to mobilize various sectors of commercial culture in the same way that Henney's white body did. Instead, Ward, as a black Amerasian who belongs to the first generation of mixed-race people in Korea, was primarily utilized as a way to mobilize the statist agenda of multiculturalism. Moreover, through analyzing how other categories like gender, class, historical context, and skin color complicate those moments, I demonstrated that both blackness and whiteness are not stable categories but are instead dynamic and contested. While drawing different cultural maps, both categories advance our understanding of race in relation to the struggle for Koreanness in Korean popular culture.

In comparison to the two chapters where I dealt with superstars, Chapter 5 contemplated other types of multicultural subjects, including 'Kosians,' multicultural families, and Korean-Chinese, who have particularly emerged in reality television. Although there has been no 'Kosian' celebrity raised to the status of Amerasian celebrities like Ward and Henney, some multicultural subjects have appeared as symbolic figures of the "Korean Obama" in the genre of reality television, such as Jasmine Lee from *Love in Asia* and Baek Chung-Kang from *The Great Birth*. The parallels between the multicultural battle and the neoliberal battle can also be found in the case of two different reality television shows. I argued that *Love in Asia* advances statist multiculturalism through the framework of paternalism: it positions Korea as superior to the native countries of female marriage migrants and reinforces ethnic nationalism. While *Love in Asia* presents multicultural reality in a (hybrid) reality-documentary style aired on a public broadcasting channel, *The Great Birth* successfully supplements the logic of multicultural reality through elevating a Korean-Chinese as the winner of the first season.

The fact that an ordinary Korean-Chinese man was able to win a reality-survival-audition program fantasizes the Korean Dream for multicultural subjects by showcasing that Korea is an open and fair society regardless of one's racial/ethnic background.

Pairing the cultural representation of mixed-race celebrities with ordinary multicultural subjects on reality television allows us to see how both arenas, despite their different articulations, speak to the construction of Koreanness in the era of globalization. Specifically, both visual representations of Amerasian celebrities and ordinary multicultural subjects in reality television together sustain the ideological fantasy-construction of a multicultural Korea, which is a crucial aspect of neoliberal multiculturalism. In other words, while Amerasian celebrities are mobilized as spectacular media events where (global) Koreanness is shaped and national (cultural) pride is fulfilled through articulating their racial otherness, reality shows that elevate ordinary multicultural subjects as fictional "Korean Obama" characters confine multicultural subjects as well-tamed citizens and stereotype them as one singular group whose otherness is downplayed to make them less threatening.

These representations are two sides of the same coin: the celebrity arena and reality television work as a dual system for resolving the domestic as well as international needs that I elaborated at the beginning of this chapter. On one level, the Korean media appropriate Ameraisn celebrities' Koreanness to make a spectacle of and globalize Korea's multicultural, global national identity; on the other hand, they (the Korean media) have to reinforce ethnic nationalism through mobilizing the representations of ordinary multicultural subjects to maintain one Koreanness. Korean television accepts racial diversity only if the otherness does not harm national unity. In other words, multiracial representation has increased in contemporary Korean television on the

surface, but Korean national identity has not been significantly challenged at the core, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the project, my dissertation on racial formation in Korean television contributes to several intersecting fields of study. First of all, it sheds light on the intersection of mixed-race studies as well as Asian studies. It is important to note that until recently television studies has not focused much on mixed-race studies, as mixed-race figures used to pass as one racial category rather than maintain their hybrid identity. Moreover, because miscegenation had been considered shameful and negative – for instance, the image of the tragic mulatto – the studies on mixed-race have heavily focused on its stereotypical images. However, the cultural meaning of mixed-race is now changing as media representation becomes more diverse and positive. In this context, my research on mixed-race representation in Korean television not only participates in a dialogue with this current scholarship but also problematizes and complicates the positive cultural meaning of mixed-race today through playing with concepts like bloodline, nationality, gender and class.

Tied to this perspective, since the massive international migration among Asian countries is a fairly new phenomenon, there have not yet been many studies on this racial reconfiguration, particularly the increasing number of mixed-race Koreans, influenced by the rise of Asian multiculturalism in the region. Unlike what used to be known as multiracial nations in the West, such as the USA, France, and Britain, East Asian countries that used to be thought of as monoracial, including Korea, Japan, and Taiwan, have experienced the current racial reconfiguration in a different context. Hence, by studying the racial reconfiguration initiated by the explosion of multiculturalism discourse in what used to be thought of as a monoracial nation, this study attempts to articulate the different (historical and cultural) trajectories of the racial category of

mixed-race and the concept of multiculturalism that follows a different path compared to the West. In addition, by pointing out the constructedness of racial categories in Korea (as seen from the politics of naming in the case of 'Kosian'), my dissertation dismantles Korea's long-standing myth of a racially homogenous country and argues that the boundaries and cultural meanings of those racial categories have been contested over time.

From a media studies perspective, this study contributes to the intersections of global television studies and Korean media studies. As the project particularly looks at how Korean television produces and circulates the image of a global Korea utilizing representations of mixed-race and multicultural subjects, it broadens our understanding of Korean media on a global scale. Especially, it will contribute to our understanding of how the global circulation of the reality television genre shapes racial politics in the Korean popular cultural arena. Moreover, re-narrating modern Korean television from the matrix of race-nation-media is appreciated because there has been no research on Korean broadcasting history from this specific perspective. Since race has not been an analytical frame for navigating Korean society for a long time, relocating the mixed-race category from the nexus of race-nation-media and exploring the changed cultural meaning of mixed-race can help us to understand how the notion of race works in what once was a racially homogeneous country. Taking it one step further, this approach is particularly significant in that many studies on the recent racial politics in Korean television are heavily focused on the textual representations of racial minorities. Hence, my interdisciplinary and holistic approach to race, nation and media will not only contribute to the Korean media studies scholarship, but will also address the field of critical media/cultural studies more broadly since my project explores organic relations and complex play among those three concepts.

Taking it one step further, I would like to end my dissertation by discussing potential research possibilities. First of all, my research can be expanded through conducting comparative research on mixed-race (or multi-ethnic) celebrities in both Asia and the US in order to explore racial reconfiguration and the struggle for national identity from a more transnational perspective. For instance, while I analyze the Hines Ward moment, I have learned that Hines Ward not only has presented himself differently, but has been portrayed differently within the US and Korean media, respectively. I am particularly interested in this cultural translation that generates varying cultural meanings. Thus, a comparative study on how Asian-American sport celebrities in America, such as Hines Ward and/or Jeremy Lin, a Taiwanese-American basketball star, represent different racial relations both in America and Asia within the context of the global circulation of their successful images would generate significant insights on how race travels.

Not only studying the transnational circulation of Asian-American celebrities between the US and Asia but also examining racial politics within the framework of inter-Asian cultural studies would enrich our understanding of race studies in Asia. As my research proposed the concept of neoliberal multiculturalism to explain a certain mode of racial formation in contemporary Korean television, I believe it is important to study how other countries in Asia, where race has not been considered crucial, conduct their own version of racial formation. Specifically, comparing the case with Japan would illuminate the process of racial formation under neoliberal reform in Asia today, since the two countries have experienced a similar type of social transformation from a modern monoracial national identity to a neoliberal, multicultural national identity. However, this research should avoid a simplistic comparison between the two countries by utilizing the nation-state as a unit of analysis; rather, it should focus on the dynamic transnational flows and ruptures that problematize various types of imaginary boundaries between the

two – such as cultural, national, and racial boundaries. This approach would advance the discussion by bringing an inter-Asian cultural studies perspective to the center of our discussion. For instance, Crystal Kay, a black mixed-race female singer in Japan who was born to an African-American father and a "Zainichi"[31] Korean mother, is an important case, given that her ambivalent identity not only dismantles formerly rigid notions of race/ethnicity in Japan but also complicates the changed cultural meaning of black Amerasians in Asia as well as its transnational translation in the Asian region.

My intent in broadening the research agendas of comparative studies and inter-Asian cultural studies is to apply a transnational perspective to theorize how concepts of race, nation, and media intersect in the era of globalization. I hope my dissertation is a cornerstone that links different disciplines, such as mixed-race studies, media studies, inter-Asian cultural studies, and Korean studies, by using Korea as a primary case for exploring the recent racial reconfiguration in the region.

[31] Zainichi Koreans are the ethnic Korean residents of Japan who currently constitute one of the largest ethnic groups in Japan.

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Vita

Ji-Hyun Ahn was born and raised in Seoul, South Korea until she started her doctoral studies in the US in 2008. She attended Ewha Girls' Foreign Language High School and entered the Department of British & American Culture at Sogang University in 2001. Graduating with the honor of Summa Cum Laude, she earned the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 2005. She received the degree of Master of Arts in Visual Communication from the Graduate School of Communication & Arts in Yonsei University in 2007. In August, 2008, she entered the doctoral program in Radio-Television-Film at The University of Texas at Austin. Upon graduation, she will be teaching as an Assistant Professor at The University of Washington at Tacoma starting in September, 2013.

Permanent address: yegaram01@gmail.com

This dissertation was typed by Ji-Hyun Ahn.